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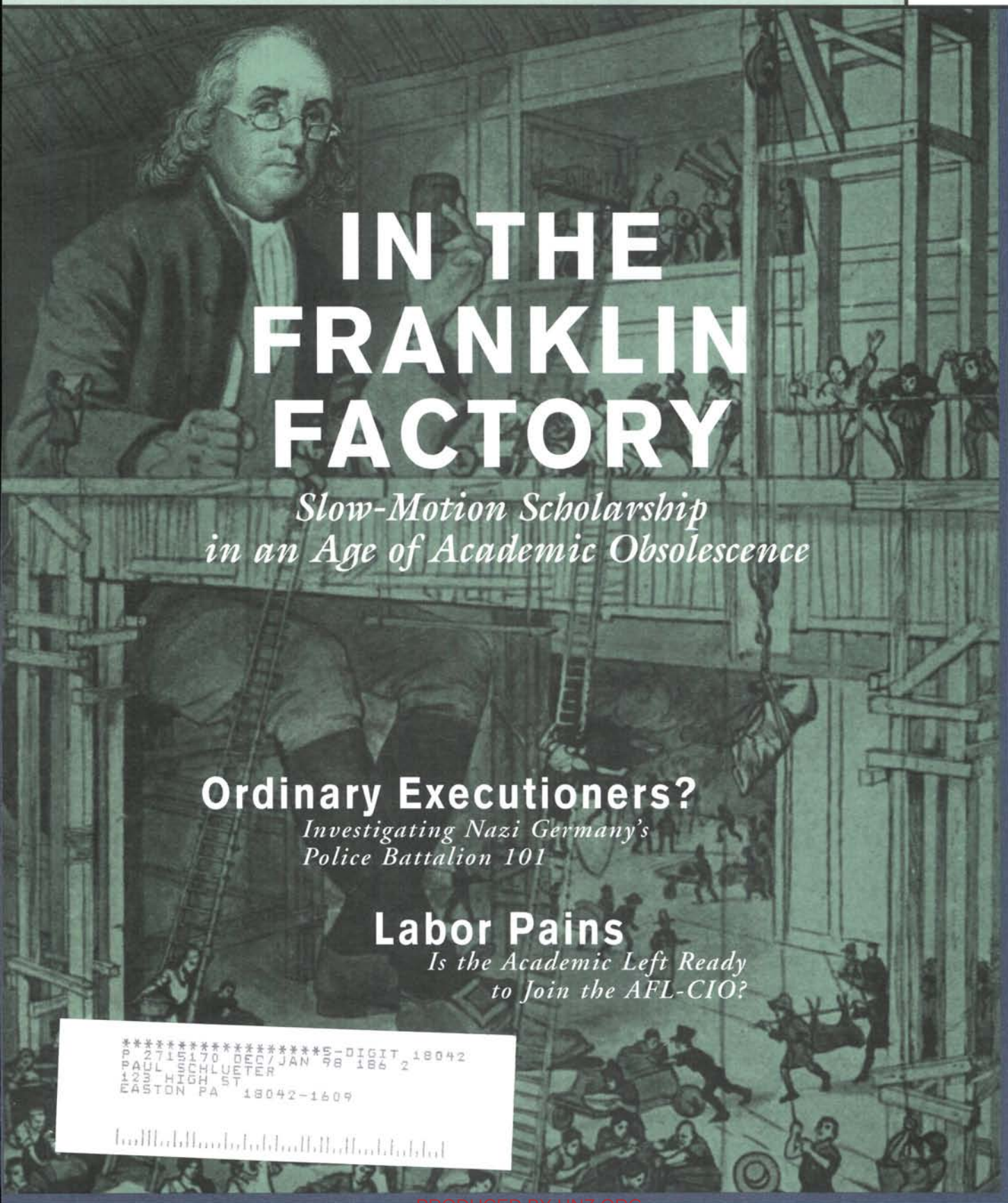

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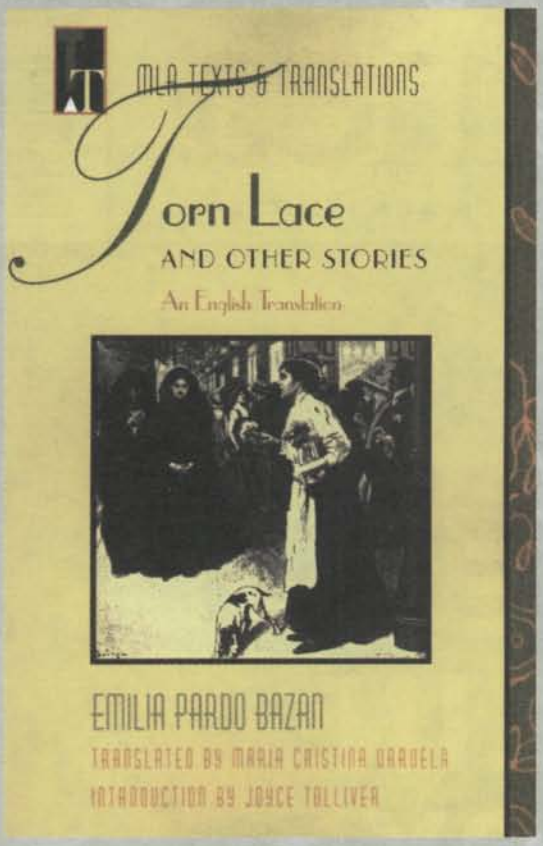

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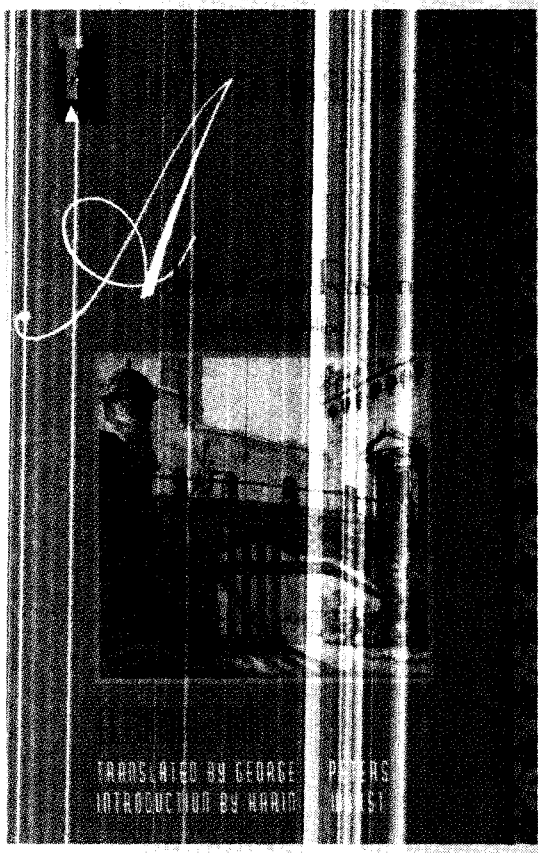

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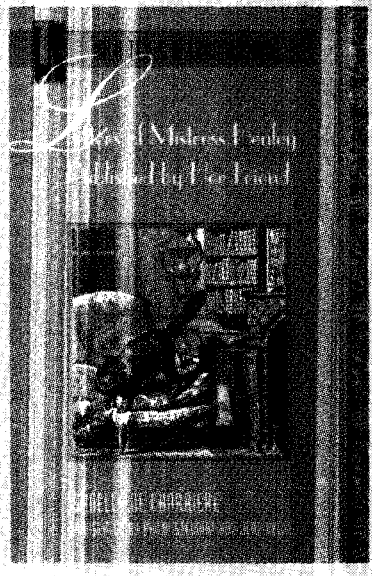

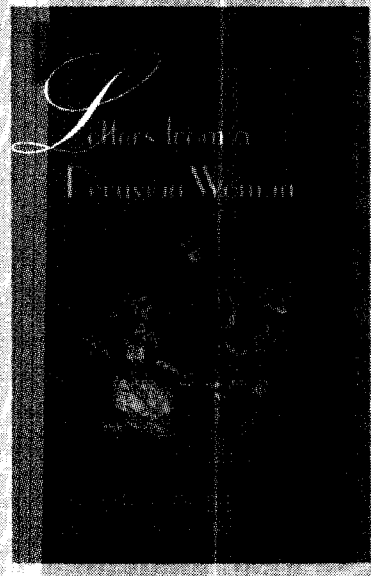

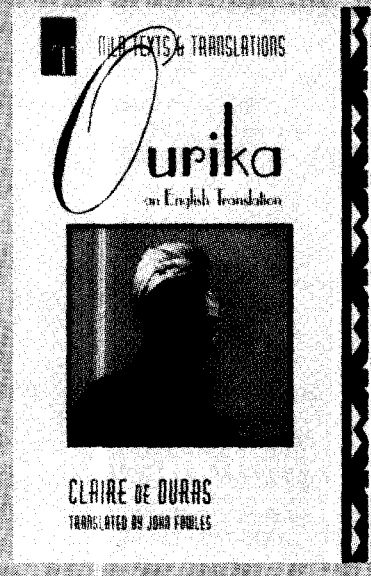

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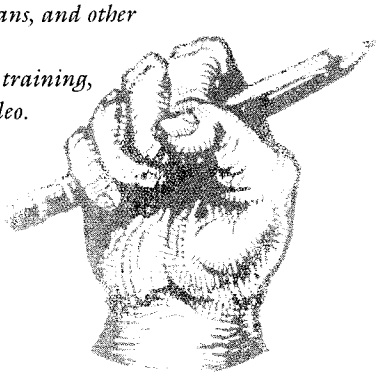

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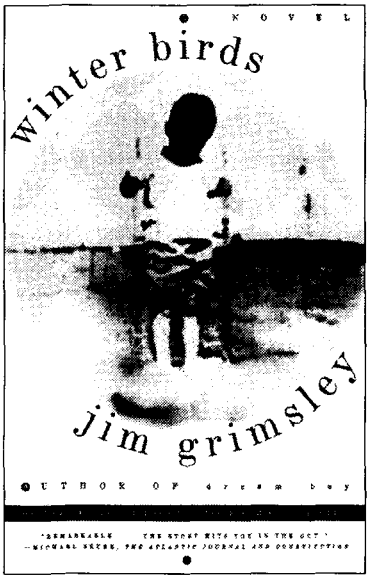

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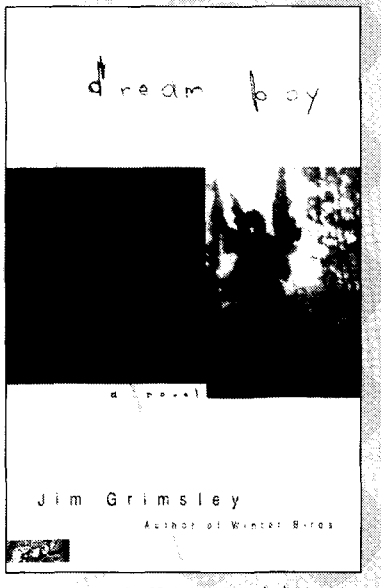

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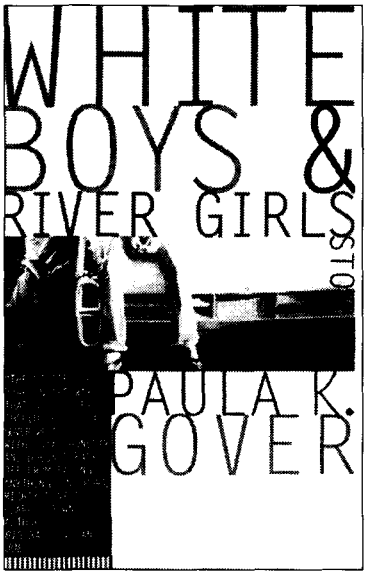

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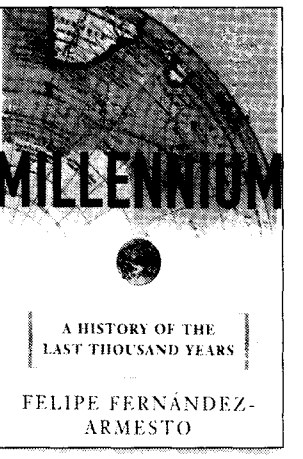

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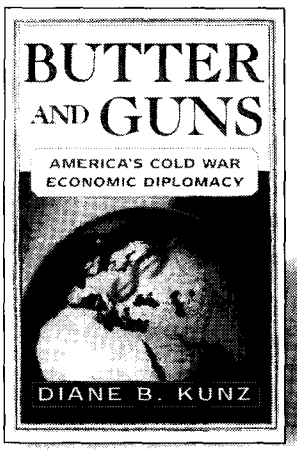

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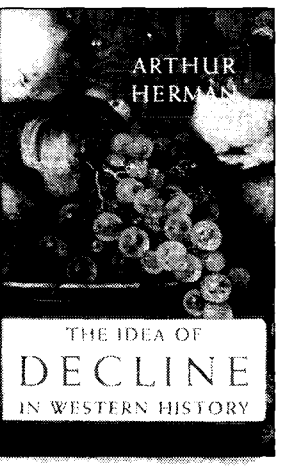

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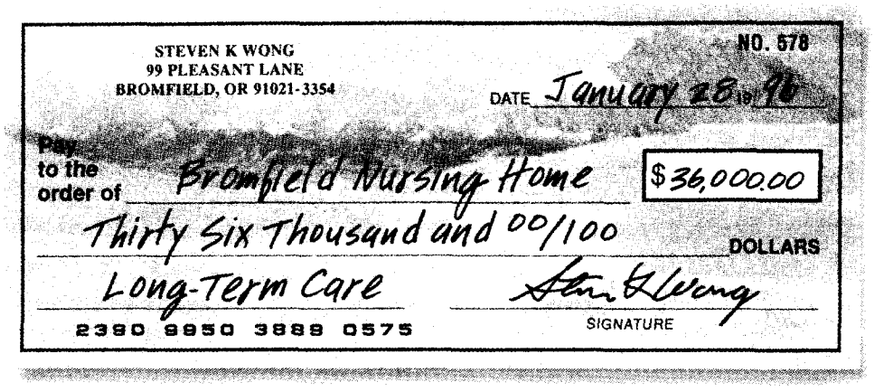

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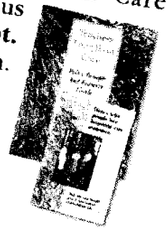

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HOMEWARD BOUND

Praises to Frank Lentricchia for his confession and apologia in the September/October issue of *Lingua Franca* ["Last Will and Testament of an Ex-Literary Critic"]. When Brother Lentricchia ceases to use the word "text" when he means "novel," we'll know his soul has truly come home.

JOAN MELLEN, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

WHAT DOES RELIGIOUS STUDIES MEAN?

Charlotte Allen misrepresents the American Academy of Religion (AAR) in her essay "Is Nothing Sacred?" [*LF*, November]. We agree that the insistence of the National American Association for the Study of Religion (NAASR) on a "scientific" methodology in religious studies has often proved useful in sharpening the debate. Allen is wrong, however, to accept at face value the identification of AAR with an Eliadean mission, let alone to paint the humanities with the brush of confessionalism! As is proper for the major learned society of a large and richly textured field, AAR does not seek to generate or impose consensus. We do not require scholars to conclude that the gods (or even God!) exist or don't exist. (We weren't aware that either theory has been demonstrated conclusively.) NAASR seems to suggest that religionists are the only scholars who can't believe in what they study.

Among our 8,000 members are scholars who utilize every methodology in the humanities and social sciences to address the whole panoply of religious phenomena. Our mission statement, as Allen knows, makes this explicit: "Within a context of free inquiry and critical examination, the Academy welcomes all disciplined reflection on religion—from both within and outside of communities of belief and practice—and seeks to enhance its broad public understanding." AAR is not going to play Goliath to NAASR's David or Charybdis to its Scylla. We provide a level playing field—not just for social scientists and theologians, but for historians, philosophers, area and gender specialists, and the like. The article fails to mention that most NAASR members are AAR members. Indeed, NAASR holds its meetings at our annual conference. (If ever there were reason for AAR not to welcome NAASR as an affiliate, it has long since lost its currency.)

Some few scholars in the AAR may argue that departments of religious studies lack adequate rationale. The AAR itself argues a different case. Our major point seems self-evident: History and current events show that religion—however defined, for better and worse, and whether one believes it is divinely or humanly originated—persists as a general and significant human phenomenon. In this interdisciplinary age, religion offers a long-standing and fruitful model of a field embracing, indeed requiring, all the disciplines in the human sciences to understand it. And without an institutional home, religious studies will not be in a position to make its case in the era of downsizing. Like it or not, departments and tenure lines shape the ecology of knowledge.

It is worth noting that the field continues to expand. Our membership has grown by a striking 25 percent over five years. We are extending collaboration with scholars internationally and bringing our members' research to bear in public discourse.

Finally, what to make of the religionist you depict who has devoted his life to the study of a phenomenon that he finds embarrassing and unnerving when he meets it embodied in the airplane seat next to him? I, unlike that man, would find it fascinating to have a conversation with a surgeon who works on brains, not least because I have one and it is important to me.

BARBARA DECONCINI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN ACADEMY OF RELIGION

As someone who once castigated the anti-reductionist views of Mircea Eliade, I nevertheless find the current attack on him appalling. Eliade is deservedly celebrated in religious studies not for espousing the existence of the "sacred" but for espousing the existence of a need for contact with the sacred. Eliade maintained that religiosity is an irreducible, panhuman yearning. Whether the sacred actually exists to fulfill that need was for him a separate issue, and one on which he was forever ambiguous. (How your article can declare that he "actually believed there was such a thing as the 'sacred'" is beyond me.) Eliade was at pains to label himself a historian rather than a theologian. He was concerned with the origin and function, not the truth, of religion. He was a theorist of religion, not a metaphysician. He abhorred reductionists like Freud and Marx, not because they deny the existence of God but because they deny the existence of a need for God, which they reduce to, at best, a means of fulfilling a secular, psychological, or economic need.

To cast the debate in religious studies as one between believers and nonbelievers, as the article does, is to turn a serious academic endeavor into a Sunday-school exercise. The key issue for the discipline is how to account for a phenomenon as pervasive as religion,

continued on page 64

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Field*Notes*

SUBCONTINENTAL RIFT

BY MOST MEASURES, Columbia University is lucky to have Ayesha Jalal. She has written three noted books on South Asian history and politics, all published by Cambridge University Press. She is a frequently consulted expert on Pakistani history and politics. She's popular with her students. And she was recommended for tenure in two all-but-unanimous votes by the history department.

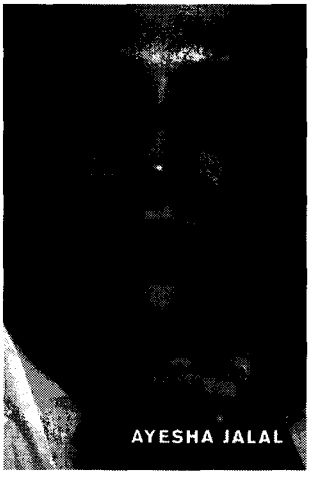
So when her tenure went before a university ad hoc committee for review—standard practice at Columbia—it was assumed to be a formality. But her tenure was denied in June 1995, and a year later, Jalal, a Pakistani Muslim, filed suit against Columbia, alleging religious and ethnic discrimination.

"You can quibble with Jalal's work," says U. Penn. historian David Ludden, "but it is at the center of all the debates on modern South Asian politics."

Neither party to the suit will discuss the case on the record. But a review of Jalal's legal complaint and discussions with sources close to the case suggest that between her department's resounding endorsement and the ad hoc committee's denial lie the complicated religious politics of South Asia and a nasty campus turf war at Columbia, as well as some particularly petty grudges. And it's all going to be aired before a federal-court judge in June.

Jalal herself would be the first to call her work controversial. A confident academic who's sometimes described as "headstrong" and even "arrogant" by her colleagues, her scholarship is similarly brazen, taking on the accepted history of not only her native Pakistan but of India, too. In her book *The Sole Spokesman* (1985), for instance, she challenged the notion that popular Muslim leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah was actively seeking Pakistan's autonomy in the late Forties. Jinnah threatened independence, Jalal argues, in the hope of convincing India's leaders to join him in a confederacy. After Nehru and Gandhi rejected this solution, Jinnah had no choice but to push for sovereign status.

The theory has the effect of not only revising Jinnah's place in history as a founding father of modern Pakistan, but also challenging Gandhi and Nehru's reputation as peacemakers. Such radical revisionism has caused "rumblings" in India and Pakistan, as Jalal told the London *Times Higher Education Supplement* last winter.


AYESHA JALAL

But with the rumblings, Jalal has brought Columbia considerable prestige. All three of her books have won praise from scholars around the world and are considered landmarks in the field. At Columbia, student interest in South Asia has surged with Jalal's presence; according to her court filing, enrollment in her courses has doubled since 1991. (When she was denied tenure, over a hundred students signed a petition in her support.)

"You can quibble with her work, but it is at the center of all the debates on modern South Asian politics," says David Ludden, associate professor of history and South Asia regional studies at the University of Pennsylvania. "She is one of the very best scholars in the field."

Nearly two years into her tenure battle, however, it seems her controversy may overshadow her cachet. Both Jalal's court documents and sources at Columbia point to one individual on campus, who, in one way or another, for good reasons or ill, did not get along with Jalal: Padma Desai, the economics professor who was appointed to chair the ad hoc committee reviewing Jalal's tenure. Jalal's suit singles out Desai, alleging that the economist, who is of Indian descent, attempted to turn Jalal's Indian students against her and persuade fellow faculty members that her work had little value. (Desai did not return several phone calls seeking comment.)

When Jalal learned about Desai's actions, she says she complained to several prominent professors in the history department, who took the matter to department chair, Kenneth Jackson. According to the suit, Jackson told Columbia provost Jonathan Cole that neither Desai nor any other potentially biased faculty member should be

TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

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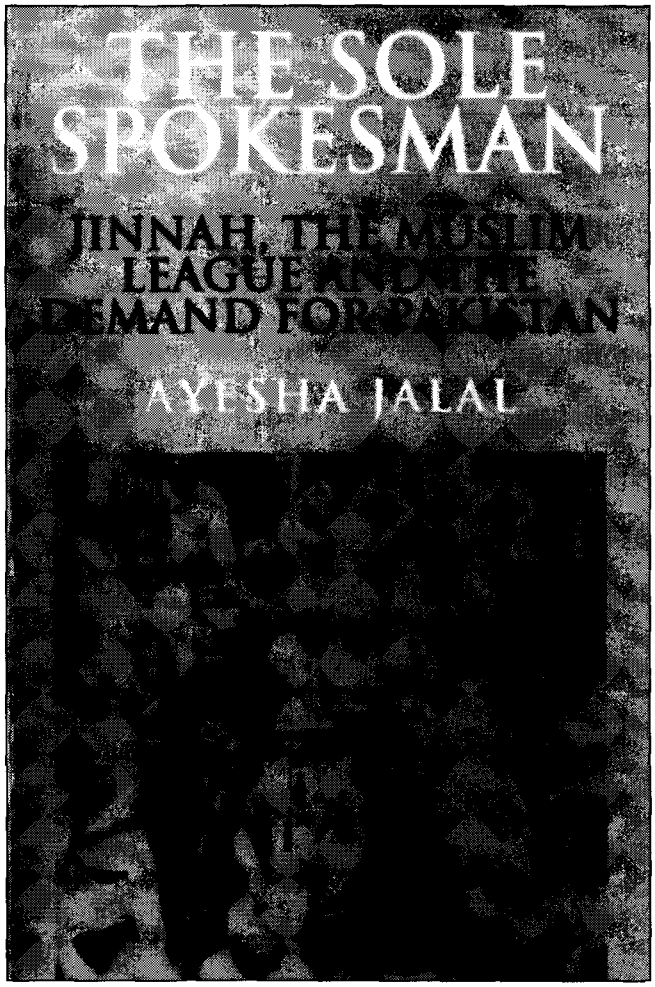
appointed to the ad hoc committee. A few months later, Gayatri Spivak, Columbia's distinguished professor of comparative literature and a friend of Jalal's, made the same request of Cole. Evidently, neither plea was successful.

Surely, if Columbia had been interested in avoiding even the appearance of exacerbating a grudge in Jalal's tenure case, the school could have appointed a scholar other than Desai to head the ad hoc committee. More baffling still is another question: Why, given the disparity between the department's enthusiastic support and the ad hoc committee's summary denial, did the university not grant Jalal a second ad hoc review, as provided for in the university statutes? Part of the answer may lie at the school's highly esteemed Southern Asian Institute.



The institute serves as a meeting place for Indian and Pakistani scholars at Columbia; accordingly, it has been a focal point for the political controversies of India and Pakistan. In turn, it figures prominently in Jalal's complaint. Back in 1993, the Institute was offered a substantial financial gift from the Dharam Hinduja Trust, an organization funded and run by India's powerful Hinduja family. The Hindujas, led by four brothers, are one of the world's most wealthy families, having made billions of dollars in commodities trading, oil deals, and chemical manufacturing. Along with the family's manifold connections to India's oil and banking industries, the Hindujas have shown a willingness in recent years to support—publicly, with cash—the revival of traditional Hinduism in India. Verging on fundamentalism, the Hinduism professed by the Hindujas is strictly observant and disapproving of other faiths, such as Islam.

For Dharam Hinduja, a son of one of the Hinduja brothers, these restrictions were too great. In May 1992, the twenty-two-year-old faked his death and then secretly married his half-Jewish, half-German fiancée. When his ruse was discovered, his family tracked him down in Mauritius; but before they could confront him, Dharam committed suicide by setting fire to himself. The trust was established in his name the next year.

The Hinduja gift immediately sparked a quarrel at Columbia. On one side were those who wanted to keep the institute independent of the Hinduja influence, Jalal among them. "[S]trong Hindu and Indian ties would compromise the neutral position of the institute," Jalal argues in her suit. On the other side were those who thought the Hinduja funds could only help the school—Desai's husband, the prominent economist Jagdish Bhagwati, was among those who spoke out in favor of accepting the Hinduja cash.

In the end, the institute demurred, but Columbia couldn't pass up Hinduja's millions. The money went to create an entirely separate center at the school, known as the Dharam Hinduja Indic Research Center. Its offices are on the same floor as the institute, and some facilities overlap. The Hinduja Center sponsors lectures, hosts visiting scholars, and funds two faculty positions at Columbia, one in Sanskrit and one in classical Hinduism.

Did Jalal's tenure denial have anything to do with the controversy over a proposed donation to Columbia's Southern Asian Institute?

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Although Columbia got the money, Jalal's supporters are convinced that her fight against the Hindujas worked against her when she came before the ad hoc committee and the administration. "Jalal was a spoiler of their party," one Columbia graduate student speculates, "and they wouldn't forgive her for that." The administration refuses to comment on the matter.

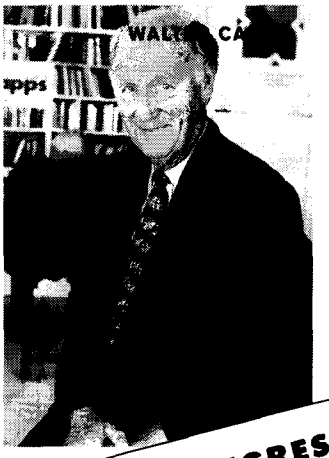
As Jalal's case heads to court, its outcome is far from clear. While lawsuits alleging bias in tenure decisions have sometimes gone in the denied professor's favor before, these typically involve charges of sexual discrimination. Jalal's allegations of political, religious, and ethnic discrimination are as complicated and porous as the politics of South Asia and may take months to untangle. Until then, Jalal and Columbia cohabitate in an uneasy truce: Jalal continues to teach on campus, letters for and against her continue to arrive at the provost's office, and Columbia continues to stand by its decision.

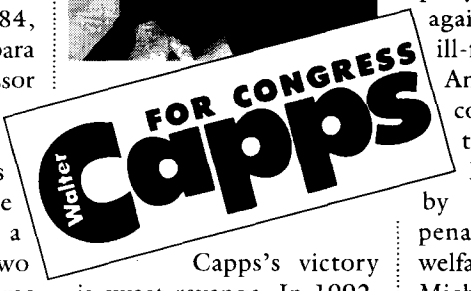
THOMAS GOETZ

THE FRESHMEN

DEMOCRATS MAY HAVE been disappointed by their party's lackluster showing in the race for Congress last November. But one of their most trusty constituencies—college professors—might take heart in contemplating an unexpected factor in electoral success this time around: academic employment. Indeed, two of the party's 42 new representatives in the House were full-time college professors before their trip to the Capitol.

Walter Capps's political journey began in 1984, when the UC-Santa Barbara religious studies professor invited Bob Kerrey, then the governor of Nebraska, to speak to his class on religion and the Vietnam War. It was a fateful move. The two native Nebraskans became fast friends. In 1987, Capps invited Kerrey to a visiting professorship at UCSB, and in 1988, Capps worked on Kerrey's successful Senate run. Then, this November, Capps, the author of books with such titles as *Freedom and Method: An Essay in Comparative Theological Analysis* and *Seeing With a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion,* won a seat representing the congressional district that includes Ronald Reagan's longtime ranch among its treasures.





Capps's victory is sweet revenge. In 1992, he was the Democrats' unlikely choice to contend for the congressional seat representing California's Twenty-second District, a seat the Dems hadn't held since FDR's day. His opponent was Andrea Seastrand, a staunch Christian conservative with a taste for nasty campaigning. Capps had scholarship on his side (his most recent book, after all, was *The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism, and Politics),* but not history: Seastrand entered the Republican freshman class of 1994 by a 1,000 vote margin. In 1996, Capps tried again. This time the battle received national attention: Pitting an unabashed partisan of the Contract With America against an unembarrassed liberal, it was seen as a bellwether contest.

Capps followed the party line by campaigning against Newt Gingrich's ill-fated Contract With America and for gun control, but he leaned to the left of New Democrat orthodoxy by opposing the death penalty and Clinton's welfare plan. Jeff Bridges, Michael Douglas, and Bonnie Raitt all stumped on the professor's behalf, and Clinton himself spent much of November 4 speaking at a huge Capps rally. The next day Capps took the election by 12,000 votes. His victory is sure to warm the hearts of many a liberal academic who has wondered, as did *The New Yorker's* Pauline Kael in 1972, how the Republicans ever win when everyone one knows votes Democrat.

While Capps relaxes in the House cloakroom, he might want to trade war stories with David Price, another college-professor-cum-congressman. Like Capps, Price is a Yale Ph.D. who lost in 1994 to a staunch Gingrichite by about 1,000 votes; also like Capps, he cleaned up in a rematch in 1996.

The religion professor's victory is sweet revenge.

Price is a Duke political scientist specializing in Congress (his 1969 dissertation was titled "Who Makes the Laws?: The Legislative Roles of Three Senate Committees"). He began his political career in 1983 as chair of the North Carolina Democratic Party. A moderate Democrat with a special interest in housing reform and an aversion to FDA regulation of the tobacco industry, Price first won a seat representing North Carolina's Fourth Congressional District (covering Durham, Raleigh, and

WALTER CAPPS CAMPAIGN

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Chapel Hill) in 1986. He served four terms, only to be defeated in 1994 by the Newtoid former police chief of Raleigh, Fred Heineman, a skillful surfer of that year's wave of anti-incumbency sentiment. Professor Price returned to Duke and picked up where he left off: teaching graduate and undergraduate seminars on congressional policy making.

DAVID PRICE ★ CONGRESS

In 1996, when Price faced Heineman again, victory was made easier when the Republican told reporters that his $183,600 annual income made him "lower middle class." Price proved more eloquent. Asked by the Durham *Herald-Sun* during the campaign to state his political philosophy, Price responded by quoting Reinhold Niebuhr: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary." Who better than a scholar to transcend the fetid broth of stupidity and cliché that constitutes our present degraded political discourse! Then again, when he was asked in the same interview why he was qualified for office, Price cited not his unparalleled grasp of the legislative process, but his "small town background."

Fear of popular anti-intellectualism may not have been the only reason that Price was reluctant to trumpet his scholarly accomplishments. While serving his four terms in Congress, he gave up his professor's salary but kept his tenured position. A congressman who reserves a cushy job to return to at his pleasure might not be the sort of guy the electorate is likely to oblige.

The Duke political scientist quoted Reinhold Niebuhr on the campaign trail.

That's also not the sort of thing an academic department is likely to cotton to. We asked one of Capps's former teaching assistants how the religious studies department at Santa Barbara is taking the sudden fame of one of their number. "The department still has to sort everything out," he said with a hint of annoyance. "He's a professor here, so his courseload has to be transferred. He *does* teach the largest course that the department offers every year!"

RICK PERLSTEIN

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THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO CARSE

CALL IT THE NEW evangelism. Except that it's not about preaching the Gospel but about *writing* a Gospel. The idea is this: You envision your own Jesus of Nazareth and then pen his biography, using the literary format pioneered by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, but not necessarily their material.

"My view is that everyone has a Jesus, and I just sat down and tried to think: What's mine?" says James Carse, sixty-four, a newly retired religion professor at NYU who says he is reviving the Gospel genre after a lull of nearly two millennia. Carse admits that his project is an audacious one. "No one's written an original Gospel that I know of since the fourth century," he says. "In effect, my work challenges the canonical nature of Christianity. In almost any other religion, the legends of the founder grow over the centuries—there are thousands of stories about Muhammad and Buddha—but in Christianity the legends about Jesus tended to disappear after the third century with the closing of the canon of the New Testament. But I'm trying to write a narrative account that is faithful to the historical context of both Jesus' time and mine, to make a Jesus relevant to his time and ours."

Except for an occasional rewritten parable, however, readers will find little traditional Christian lore about the Savior in Carse's *Gospel of the Beloved Disciple*, a seventy-nine-page manuscript that he is currently revising. For example, there are so far no fishermen among Carse's disciples—a motley, mixed-sex crew of outcasts. (He does plan to work a few fishermen into his next draft to create a sense of the fishing economy along-side the Sea of Galilee during Jesus's time.) The de-Christianization is by design. "I wanted to have a different set of historical referents," says Carse. "I wanted to write something that could be read as exemplary of the Jewish literature of the time, like the Haggadah or the Talmud. What I've tried to do is re-Judaize Jesus and present him as the Jew that he was. He'll be more rabbinical, not a speculative Jesus and not an apocalyptic Jesus."

Actually, Carse's Gospel is not the only venture into updated evangelism. At least three other self-described Gospels have recently appeared: *The Gospel According to Jesus: A New Translation and Guide to His Essential Teachings,* by veteran biblical translator Stephen Mitchell (HarperCollins, 1991); *Three Gospels* (one of them original), by novelist and Duke University English professor Reynolds Price (Scribner, 1996); and *The Gospel of Corax,* by science-fiction writer and sometime creative-writing teacher Paul Park (Soho, 1996). These ventures are markedly different from Carse's work in progress, however. Mitchell presents his take on the traditional canonical Gospels but includes no new evangelical material. Price's original Gospel hews close to the story lines of Mark and John, the two translations in his trio of Gospels. Park's book bills itself as a full-blown novel; its protagonist is not Jesus but a runaway Roman slave who falls in with Jeshua of Nazareth while the latter is in the East acquiring Buddhist wisdom as a prelude to his ministry.

Just as Carse's Jesus is an unconventional rabbi, Carse has been an unconventional religion professor. During his thirty-one years at NYU, where his specialty was philosophy of religion, the Presbyterian-born professor wrote books about death, game theory, and mysticism. His last book, *Breakfast at the Victory: The Mysticism of Ordinary Experience* (HarperCollins, 1994), was a provocative collection of essays inspired by the long defunct Victory Luncheonette in Greenwich Village.

"Everyone has a Jesus," says Carse. "What I've tried to do is re-Judaize Jesus and present him as the Jew that he was."

The Gospel of the Beloved Disciple shares *Breakfast*'s koan-like crypticness, but

(LEFT TO RIGHT) ARCHIVE PHOTOS, JAMES CARSE, ARCHIVE PHOTOS

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its worldview is bleaker. The precocious son of Joseph, a prosperous but cruel Galilean builder, Carse's Jesus leaves home as a young man to wander through a landscape of unrelieved brutality, in which poverty, sickness, mutilation, and crucifixion are commonplace. Eventually he meets a Philistine woman, never named, who becomes his companion. She is the beloved disciple of the title. "She could be anything from his girlfriend to the Holy Spirit," Carse says. "She's the one who wakens him to what he finally has to do, which is confront Rome."

Carse's Jesus works no miracles, and he never prays. "He has no communication from God and no communication with God," explains Carse. "He's on his own, so to speak. There's a danger in people thinking of themselves as being directly addressed by God. It gives them this absolutist attitude on political issues. That's one of the dangers of the Christian myth."

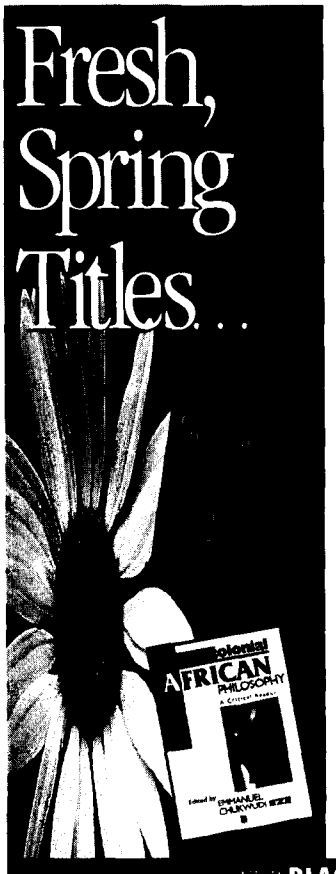
Nor does Carse's Jesus preach love of one's neighbor or the virtues of poverty. "Love is not necessary," Jesus tells his disciple Martha. "We are neighbors when we know we can live together without loving each other."

Carse's Jesus doesn't work miracles, preach love of one's neighbor or practice the virtues of poverty.

Interspersed with such teachings are the enigmatic parables that Carse puts into Jesus' mouth, the literary high points of what is so far a skeletal narrative. For example, Carse includes two versions of the parable of the prodigal son, both with depressing endings that radically differ from the scene of familial forgiveness in Luke's Gospel. In the first Carse rewrite, the prodigal, after being welcomed home by his father, turns around and sells the old man's land out from under him, reducing him to beggary. In the second, the father does not welcome his son home but goes out and joins him as a swineherd.

At the end of Carse's Gospel, Jesus confronts Rome—in the shape of Pontius Pilate, who feels so threatened by the young rabbi's pacifism and keen sense of social injustice that he has him crucified. A reader might wonder, however, whether Jesus (or rather, Carse) has not been preaching pacifism so much as passivity. In fact, responds Carse, it is Jesus's exemplary life rather than anything he says that ought to be imitated. That raises another question: How can well-off Americans—like Carse himself—take after a starving sage from ancient Palestine? "What should people do?" asks Carse. "They should see their wealth as their responsibility to the world and use it in a way that results in fairness and the public welfare.

"I use my land that way," he adds, referring to



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a twenty-acre second-home parcel he owns in Rowe, Massachusetts, near the Vermont border. "I'm keeping old-growth trees on my land and supporting myself from my garden. I'm also a vegetarian—we could provide more protein for the world if we didn't raise animals."

Nonetheless, the Jesus of *The Gospel of the Beloved Disciple* is *not* a vegetarian. Says Carse with a chuckle: "I couldn't do that—it would be too ahistorical. Jesus probably ate more fish than anything else."

CHARLOTTE ALLEN

CULTURE AND ANARCHY

BENEDICT ARNOLD

NESTLED SNUGLY AWAY on an inside page of *The New York Times* Week in Review on November 24, 1996, was the following correction: "An article last Sunday about the political effects of global economic forces referred incorrectly to the originator of the idea of 'imagined communities,' referring to the conceptions people have of nationhood. He is Benedict Anderson, professor of government at Cornell University; the mention of Benedict Arnold was inadvertent."

R.J. LAMBROSE

ARCHIVE PHOTOS

BANISHED FROM TEMPLE

FOR YEARS TEMPLE University's advertising campaign centered around the boastful slogan, "Professor X could have gone anywhere. But s/he chose Temple." Perhaps the school's copywriter was thinking about English and creative writing professor David Bradley, a member of the faculty since 1976. A highly regarded novelist (*The Chaneysville Incident* won the PEN/Faulkner Award in 1981), an essayist whose work has appeared in *The New Yorker* and *Esquire,* and a popular and dedicated classroom teacher, Bradley has attracted interest from numerous institutions, including formal offers from MIT and NYU.

He has chosen to stay at Temple, instead. As a result of MIT's 1984 recruitment effort, however, Temple gave him an increase in salary—as well as a light teaching load. Carolyn Adams, Temple's acting dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the time, assured Bradley in writing that he would only have to teach four courses a year—three courses in the fall and the fourth, involving five one-on-one writing tutorials, to be spread out over the course of the year. It was a sweet deal.

After Bradley took Temple's counteroffer, Adams wrote him a letter, saying in part, "Please accept my thanks, on behalf of all your colleagues in the College, for your willingness to stay with us. It would be impossible to replace you; I'm delighted that we don't have to try."

Last April Adams—now permanent dean—sent Bradley another letter. In this one she wrote: "As you have not appeared for your teaching assignments this term, you should return to the University all salary paid for the period January 1, 1996, through March 31, 1996.... Further, as you do not have an approved leave of absence and have not fulfilled the teaching responsibilities assigned to you for this semester, your personnel record will reflect that you have resigned your position with Temple University effective December 31, 1995."

Or as *The Philadelphia Inquirer* headline read: TEMPLE FIRES A PROFESSOR WITH TENURE.

When is it unfair to increase a professor's teaching load?

The dispute between professor and dean had been simmering for nearly a year. Temple, a state-supported urban institution facing rising costs and declining revenue, had requested in 1995 that all professors take on one additional course a year. For the most part, the faculty, all of whom were teaching fewer than the contractual maximum of eight courses a year, complied.

That David Bradley preferred not to should not have been surprising. Known for a confrontational style in his writing, in the classroom, and within the university, he was one of only three members of the sixty-five-person English department to cross the picket line during a 1990 faculty strike at Temple. In addition, he had taken to spending a good part of each spring semester in San Diego, where he works on film projects, returning to Philadelphia for conferences with students. Teaching an extra course in the spring would have cramped his bicoastal style.

But Bradley could cite chapter and verse: The 1984 letter from Adams stated

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that the "continuation" of his four-course load would be "contingent upon your continued productivity as a publishing author and contributor to the field. If that productivity should decline significantly from its present level, the College reserves the right to review the arrangement."

And, as Bradley wrote in a reply to the request for a teaching-load increase, "The College has never indicated a desire to review the contract under that sole condition."

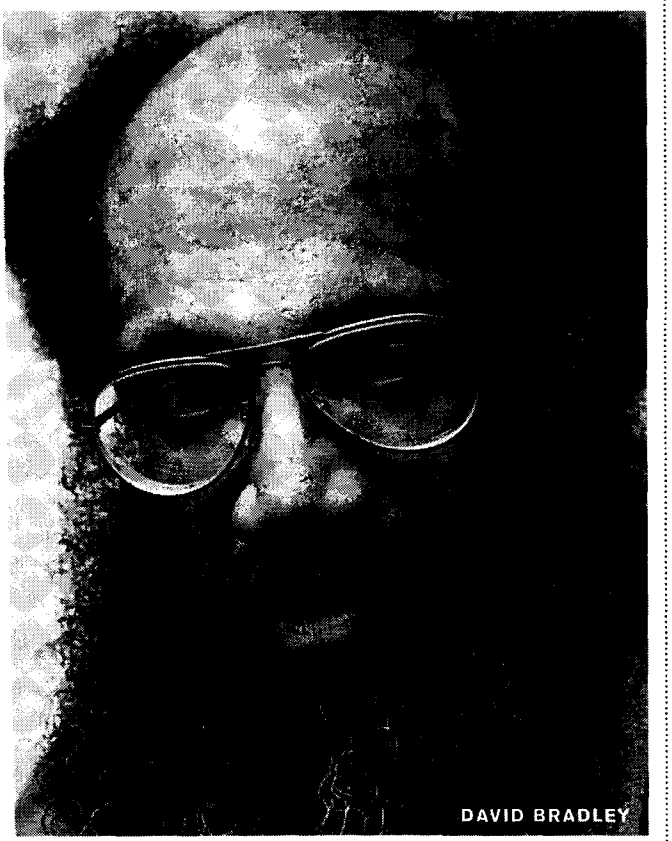
The administration's position is that in a faculty of team players, Bradley alone is being a prima donna. "The university is under tremendous fiscal pressure," Adams explains. "We have no choice but to ask faculty members to do their share. It's an equity issue. Under the current circumstances, when so many others are doing their part, it wouldn't have been fair to allow David to be an exception."

Adams insists she's only playing by the rules. "It's not a case of lifting tenure," she says. "Tenure is not intended to protect someone who doesn't carry out his duties. My letter was simply an acknowledgment that when you don't show up, the university doesn't employ you."

Others aren't so sure. Robert O'Neil, a law professor at the University of Virginia and the chairman of the American Association of University Professors' committee on academic freedom and tenure, says, "First of all, the 1984 letter that Bradley got strongly implies that his workload can be reduced only based on a drop in productivity. Second, if that provision were invoked, there would have to be some kind of hearing."

Yet O'Neil also takes issue with Bradley's strategy. "If he were my client," he says, "I would have advised him to teach the extra course. I would have said, 'Your position is so good you ought to preserve it. Teach under protest.'" Bradley, who in *The Chaneysville Incident* describes a group of runaway slaves who committed group suicide rather than be returned to bondage, thinks differently. "I just couldn't do it. As soon as you accept something like that, you can't change it," he declares.

At Temple the faculty has supported Bradley, though not always with enthusiasm. English department chair Daniel O'Hara, who is a vocal critic of Bradley's termination, says, "People have been privately supportive, but not too many have been willing to step forward. It may be that they have some jealousy or resentment toward him." Nevertheless, the Faculty Senate issued a report last August charging that the university's actions "constitute a clear violation of national standards for the protection of tenure and academic freedom."


DAVID BRADLEY

Temple University's President Peter Liacouras responded with a memo defending the withholding of Bradley's salary since April of last year. Oddly, the letter also maintained, in direct and unexplained contradiction to Dean Adams's letter, that "presently, David Bradley is a University faculty member with tenure." Liacouras declined to be interviewed for this article.

Understandably, Bradley says he is "mystified" by Liacouras's memo. He is therefore pressing on with a labor grievance over his workload increase and his termination. The grievance is being handled by the Temple Association of University Professionals, a faculty union affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. In addition, last October, he filed a complaint with the EEOC, charging racial and age discrimination. (Bradley, who is African-American, compares his situation with that of a white English professor at Temple. The white professor enjoyed a reduced teaching load based on his productivity as an author and his editorship of a journal. When he protested his teaching-load increase, Temple undertook a review of the circumstances, rather than simply insisting on compliance. The professor lost the review and is teaching the extra course.)

Unpaid since April 1996 (he has not returned his salary for the months of January through March), Bradley is living on savings, magazine fees, and some modest rental income from a property he owns. He says he is worried about getting another teaching job because of the damage this episode has done to his reputation. "People keep coming up to me and saying, 'What did you really do?'" he says.

Nine months after the fateful letter, he remains "shaken" by what happened. "Shit," he says. "If tenure doesn't mean you can't have a fight with the dean without getting fired, then it doesn't mean anything."

BEN YAGODA

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

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DAMNED IF YOU DO...

YET AGAIN, THE TIMES are changing. Where once professors offended because of their refusal to speak to the public, now they offend because they speak to it all too well. The problem? The American university, it appears, is teeming with professors who won't teach their seminars because they're too preoccupied with their next spot on NPR, or even—heaven forbid—*Oprah*.

In a recent *New Republic* essay titled "Quotemeisters," Franklin Foer takes note of "academic pundits," such as University of Virginia political scientist Larry Sabato and Annenberg School of Communications dean Kathleen Hall Jamieson, whose scholarly "credentials lend instant authority to even the silliest or most obvious points." These scholars aggressively pursue the press, aided, Foer says, by "university PR officers" who "actively encourage faculty to talk to reporters and produce glossy compendia of experts for talk-show bookers to peruse." (Sabato, for example, sets aside an hour a day to take calls from reporters.)

Meanwhile, over on the publishing front, it seems that scholars are trying to claw their way to another place they don't belong—the best-seller list. A recent *Village Voice* article that allowed publicity people at publishing houses to vent their spleen at attention-grabbing authors singled out academics with crossover dreams for less than kind treatment. "I think political scientists are the absolute worst, followed closely by literary theorists," says one unnamed source. "Their prose is usually so impenetrable that any subject becomes untouchable to mass media. But they all think they belong on *Larry King*. And then there are the animal behaviorists who 'don't want to be pigeonholed as scientists.' They prefer to see themselves as prose stylists and want us to send their study of lions' diets to Nadine Gordimer for a blurb."

R.J. LAMBROSE

THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND MODERNITY

Established in 1993 to promote US-German cooperation in all scientific research fields, the **German-American Academic Council** Foundation sponsors 2-year interdisciplinary social & natural science summer institutes for advanced doctoral candidates & recent PhDs. Twenty Fellows (PhD candidates & recent PhDs) and senior faculty present their research & collaborate on new projects between the two meetings. The seventh institute, "**THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND MODERNITY**," will focus on the development of the state, the economy, and science in different Islamic societies. Participants in this two workshop series will consider the relationship of the Islamic world to these aspects of modernity, both as universal phenomena and in terms of specific historical, social, and local contexts. The Institute will examine the uses and perceptions of modernity in the Islamic world. Participants will be drawn from a variety of scholarly disciplines, including history, political science, economics, urban studies, and Islamic studies.

Institute goals: To discuss theoretical, methodological, and empirical issues; integrate approaches and interpretations from various disciplines; and identify promising areas for further research. Awards cover all transport/lodging costs for both ten-day workshops (1997-98). For more information, contact:
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Washington, DC August 1998	**Serif Mardin** American University	**Social Science Research Council** USA

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A former professor, Jeffrey M. Duban received his Ph.D. in Classical Philology from Johns Hopkins in 1975.

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Informed Sources.

Thought-Provoking Selections from Barnes & Noble.

Paris in the Twentieth Century
by Jules Verne
The acclaimed science-fiction writer reveals his prescient view into the future in this tale of 1960s Paris, written more than a century ago and lost for 125 years.
(Random House)
$21.00

Disarmed and Dangerous
by Murray Polner and Jim O'Grady
Daniel and Philip Berrigan's lives and times come to light in this biographical look at the ideals that motivated the most infamous activist clergymen in America.
(HarperCollins/BasicBooks)
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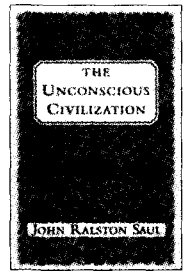

The Unconscious Civilization
by John Ralston Saul
This incisive work of popular philosophy argues that while Fascism was defeated in World War II, its social vision and "corporatist" doctrines were not.
(The Free Press)
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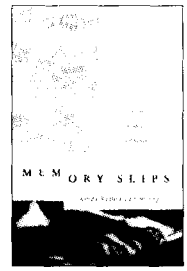

Memory Slips
by Linda Katherine Cutting
Here is the true story of a concert pianist who lost and regained her ability to remember music after memories of childhood sexual abuse nearly destroyed her life.
(HarperCollins)
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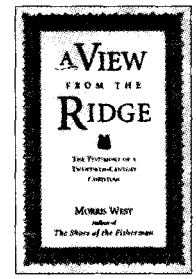
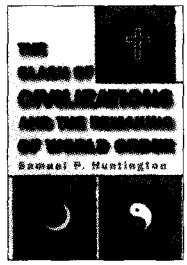
Companion to the Cosmos
by John Gribbin
From the author of *In Search of Schrödinger's Cat* comes a fascinating new guidebook to the universe that incorporates all the most recent scientific findings.
(Little, Brown)
$29.95



A View from the Ridge
by Morris West
The author of *The Shoes of the Fisherman* examines his belief, struggles and faith in an affirming account of his lifetime pilgrimage as a 20th-century Catholic.
(HarperSanFrancisco)
$18.00



The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order
by Samuel P. Huntington
"...one of the West's most eminent political scientists presents a challenging framework for understanding the realities of global politics in the next century."
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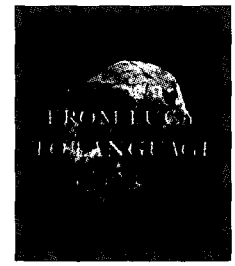

From Lucy to Language
by Donald Johanson and Blake Edgar
The history of human evolution unfolds with stunning graphic detail in this groundbreaking work by one of the world's foremost paleontologists, lavishly photographed by *National Geographic*'s David Brill.
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Breakthrough *Books*

WE ASKED A GROUP OF NINE TRANSLATORS, SCHOLARS, AND POETS TO COMMENT ON RECENT **TRANSLATIONS** AND WORK IN **TRANSLATION THEORY.**

Heather McHugh, professor of creative writing at the University of Washington at Seattle and the author of *Hinge & Sign: Poems 1968–1993* (Wesleyan, 1994).

"**Richard Howard**, who for decades has done us incalculable service in translating difficult but indispensable French texts, deserves a heap more credit than he gets. (A good translator undergoes a self-annihilation: Even the best readers, finding glories in the work, will tend to credit the writer before the translator.) Howard's translation of **E.M. Cioran**'s ***Short History of Decay*** (Quartet, 1990) alone should have won him our lifelong literary gratitude.

Of recent translations, none is more exciting than ***View With a Grain of Sand*** (Harcourt, 1995), by Nobel prize winner **Wislawa Szymborska**. One simply cannot praise enough the way in which **Stanislaw Baranczak** and **Clare Cavanagh** have rendered Szymborska's ranges of revelry and rue, her intellectual exactitudes and spiritual flash, her compound of profundity and skepticism, her swoops of scale from star to cell—even her way with words, her wit. The book is a gift not only from, but to, the poet herself."

••••

Michael Henry Heim, professor of Slavic literatures at UCLA and translator of George Konrad, *The Melancholy of Rebirth: Essays from Post-Communist Central Europe, 1989–1994* (Harcourt, 1996).

"For years **George Steiner**'s ***After Babel*** (Oxford, 1976) has been the standard history of translation theory, brilliantly demonstrating how varying views of the craft of translation have partaken of the intellectual currents of their times. Since its appearance, however, the intellectual currents of our time have spawned a vital new field, translation studies, which prides itself on factoring social aspects into formerly 'pure' issues—speculating, for instance, about why the powers that be choose certain works and even whole literatures for translation over others. **Lawrence Venuti**'s ***The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*** (Routledge, 1995) acutely revises translation history under headings like 'Canon,' 'Nation,' and 'Dissidence,' while **Rachel May**'s ***The Translator in the Text: On Reading Russian Literature in English*** (Northwestern, 1994) explains how the translations we read color our view of Russian texts and, in the end, of Russian literature itself."

••••

Lawrence Venuti, professor of English at Temple University and the author of *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (Routledge, 1995).

Current research in translation studies, observes Venuti, "is split into opposing approaches: one aiming to construct an empirical science of translation, the other emphasizing the cultural and political values in translation theory and practice." Venuti prefers the latter approach because it "can provoke new thinking about culture, new ways of writing cultural history, and, eventually, new translation strategies." He adds: "Check out **Michael Cronin**'s ***Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Culture*** (Cork University Press, 1996), a thousand-year history of the diverse roles played by translation in forming Irish cultural traditions and national identities. Cronin demonstrates how translation studies can transform debates about identity politics by exposing the plurilingualism of every culture. For Cronin, translation lies at the heart of the postcolonial condition, revealing hierarchical power relations and producing hybrid languages of resistance and innovation."

••••

Barbara Bray, a writer living in Paris and the translator of Alain Bosquet, *A Russian Mother* (Holmes & Meier, 1996).

Bray looks forward to savoring ***The Encyclopedia of Literary Translation*** (Fitzroy Dearborn, forthcoming), edited by **Olive Classe**, which surveys the theory and practice of literary translation into English. "Addressed to students and teachers at all levels, the *Encyclopedia* reflects the current ferment of interest in a territory hitherto relatively unmapped but vital to intercultural communications, past, present, and future. English versions of texts by authors from Aeschylus to Kenzaburo Oe are discussed. General topics range from children's literature through feminist translation theory to translation norms. Surveys of the history of translation into English from a given language provide an account of each language's special characteristics and resources and major differences from English."

••••

Serge Gavronsky, professor of French at Barnard College and the author of *Toward a New Poetics: Contemporary Writing in France* (California, 1994).

"Bilingual poetry publications invite a reader to play at being a Ping-Pong referee and smugly, smilingly, call the translator to task. There is, however, a more pleasurable option: simply focusing on the translation and admiring the perfection of the English language, which is what I did when reading **Samuel Beckett**'s translations in **Alain Bosquet**'s ***No More Me*** (Daedalus, 1995), edited by **Roger Little**. Under

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Beckett's command, 'Mon oranger n'aime pas mes genoux' becomes 'My orange trees my knees displease.' And 'Verbe à muqueuses!' becomes 'Mucous membraned Word!' Such poetic license was encouraged by the prolific Bosquet, who wrote, 'I give every one of my words its liberty' and, to make matters even easier, fancied himself a poet who 'replaces dogs with unicorns.' What a field day for Bosquet translators, a group that has included such talents as Beckett, Louis Zukofsky, and Lawrence Durrell, among others."

••••

Carol Volk, a writer living in New York and the translator of Patrick Chamoiseau, *Childhood* (Nebraska, forthcoming).

"In 'The Sentence' in ***Testaments Betrayed*** (HarperCollins, 1995), **Milan Kundera** scrutinizes multiple translations of a single Kafka passage. Pointing to consistent patterns of error, such as the replacing of intentionally repetitive words with synonyms, Kundera demonstrates that deviations from standard usage often constitute an author's stylistic essence and shouldn't be smoothed over. Bravely, Kundera confronts a key dilemma for translators: whether to maintain strict fidelity to the author (assuming that's possible) or opt for greater fluidity for the reader. It's a problem for which every translator must ultimately reach a compromise—and no matter what the decision, the copy editor will often make the final call in favor of readability. Though Kundera's blanket condemnations of all translators are unfair, his sympathies are well placed. He writes: 'What can the translator get credit for? For fidelity to the author's style? That's exactly what readers in the translator's country have no way of judging.'"

••••

"I GIVE EVERY ONE OF MY WORDS ITS LIBERTY," WROTE THE FRENCH POET ALAIN BOSQUET.

••••

Pierre Joris, professor of English at SUNY-Albany and the translator of Paul Celan, *Breathturn* (Sun & Moon, 1995).

"Bottom-line politics and editorial timidity have made trade publishers allergic to experimental writing in translation. Thankfully, small independent presses, often poet-run, have taken up the slack. Exact Change of Cambridge, Massachusetts, recently published **Antonin Artaud**'s major late writings as ***Watchfiends and Rack Screams: Works from the Final Period, 1945–1948*** (1995). The volume is edited and superbly translated (a twenty-year labor of love!) by **Clayton Eshleman** with **Bernard Bador**. Another vital poet-translator-publisher is **Rosmarie Waldrop**, who has created an annual series of current German writing in English translation, ***Dicthen***, published by her Burning Deck Press of Providence, Rhode Island. Issues 1 and 2 offer her excellent translations of **Frederike Mayröcker's *Heiligenanstalt*** and **Elke Erb**'s ***Mountains in Berlin***."

••••

Carol Maier, professor of Spanish at Kent State University and the co-editor of *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and Cross-Cultural Texts* (Pittsburgh, 1995).

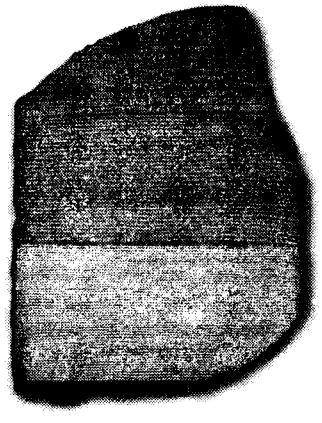
"Discussions about translation often focus on the accuracy of the final product," says Maier. For an alternative, she has turned to books that "concern the effect of translation and the potentially rewarding yet dangerous interrogation of identity that translation can trigger. Some fiction writers are apparently more willing than translators or translation theorists to speculate about translation's tendency to throw them off-balance as they shuttle between languages and cultures. Novels such as **Lydia Davis**'s ***The End of the Story*** (Farrar, 1995), **Barbara Wilson**'s ***Gaudí Afternoon*** (Seal, 1990), and **Banana Yoshimoto**'s ***N.P.*** (Grove, 1994), translated by **Ann Sherif**, offer intimate portraits of translators that prompt a reader to ponder the effect translation can have on one's understanding of originality, gender, and nationality."

••••

William Weaver, professor of Language and Literature at Bard College and the translator of Umberto Eco, *The Island of the Day Before* (Harcourt, 1995). Weaver recommends **Donald Keene**'s ***On Familiar Terms: A Lifetime Across Cultures*** (Kodansha America, 1996), "an extraordinary book, not exactly an autobiography, but rather, as the subtitle clarifies, 'a lifetime across cultures.' Keene, an unparalleled translator and historian of Japanese literatures, in telling the story of his gradual discovery of his vocation with witty clarity, provides an affecting, precise description of what it's like to be a translator. Translating, if practiced seriously, goes far beyond mere linguistic transferal; and Keene conveys the intellectual satisfactions of finding exactly the right word (when you're lucky) and, more broadly, rendering a book written in one's beloved acquired language into one's equally beloved native language.

For me, reading Keene was an uncanny experience. I seemed to be reading my own story, with 'Japan' and 'Japanese' replacing 'Italy' and 'Italian.' Geographically and culturally, Keene and I have been immersed in discrete worlds, but we seem to have reached the same destination."

JOHN PALATTELLA



ART RESOURCE

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BIRTH OF A NATION'HOOD

Edited by Toni Morrison and Claudia Brodsky Lacour
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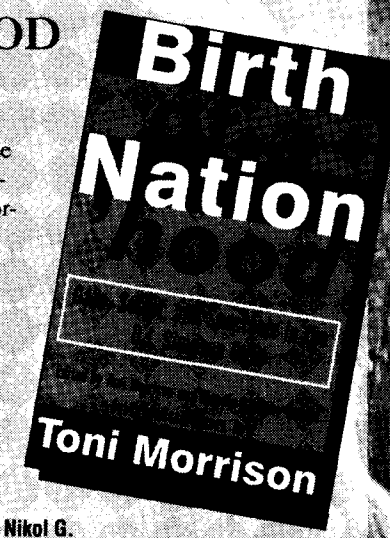

"From the day of the murders to the controversial acquittal, the domain of racism has been gradually but unmistakably re-envisioned." —Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, from her essay "Colorblind Dreams and Racial Nightmares"

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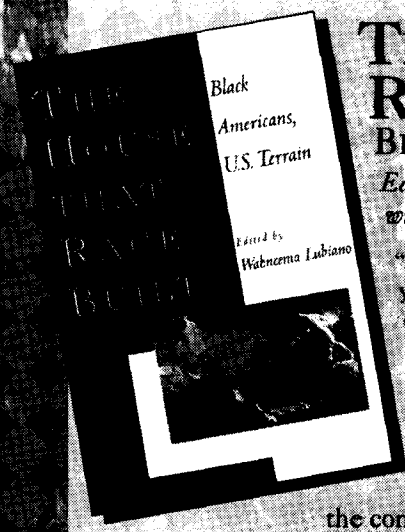

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Edited by Wahneema Lubiano
with an Introduction by Toni Morrison

"A marvelous book. Open it to any of the essays and you will find yourself in dialogue with a public intellectual profoundly engaged with the ideology and operation of racism in the United States. This is the indispensable book for moving us beyond stalemated rhetoric and towards something like a more egalitarian future." —Martin Duberman

In some of the most profound, provocative, and indispensable writing we have had on the subject to date, the contributors to this volume compel us to confront a new and dangerous reconsolidation of white racial nationalism now underway in the U. S. Essays by: **Toni Morrison, Stephen Steinberg, David Roediger, Neil Gotanda, Howard Winant, Kendall Thomas, Rhonda Williams, Evelyn Higginbotham, David L. Smith, Robin D.G. Kelley, Wahneema Lubiano, Patricia J. Williams, Angela Davis, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Stuart Hall, and Cornel West.** *$26.00 • 448pp. • Cloth*

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Inside*Publishing*

HOW NATIONS THINK

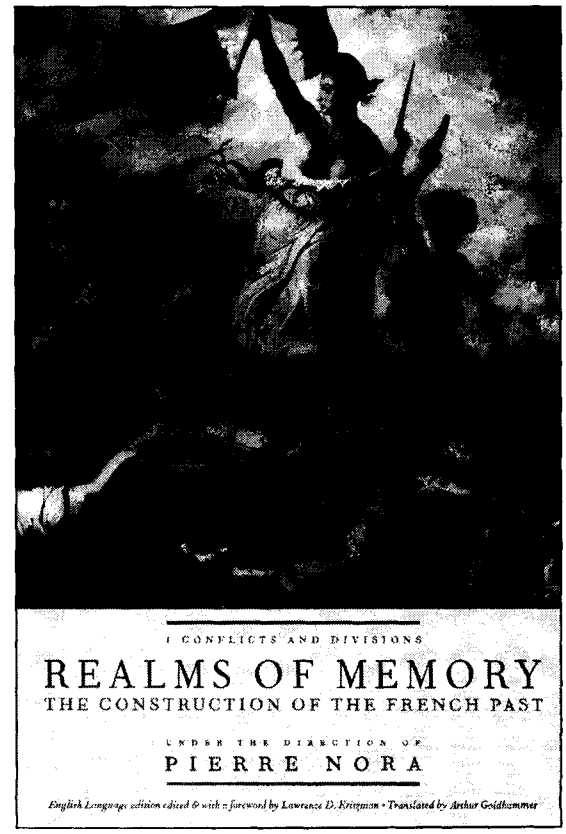
IN 1980 THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT declared a yearlong celebration of *le patrimoine,* kicking off a decade of national heritage festivals culminating in the Bicentennial of the Revolution. Around the same time, the historian Pierre Nora mounted a sly challenge to state ceremony in his seminar at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. Rather than join in the celebrations, Nora and his students set out to decode them—to unpack the ways the French have collectively imagined their past. The project proved so compelling that Nora, editor of the influential *Bibliothèque des Histoires* series for Gallimard, decided he had a book—better yet, a series—in the making. An ironist's encyclopedia of collective memory, it would, in Nora's words, "decompose the unity" of the French nation, thereby serving as an antidote to the works of nationalist historians like Michelet and Lavisse. Soon more than a hundred experts on French history and culture were enlisted. Their task: to provide an analysis of a *lieu de memoire,* or "realm of memory"—any building block of French identity ranging from Joan of Arc and the Eiffel Tower to the national cuisine and the "genius" of the French language.

Between 1984 and 1992 *Les lieux de memoire* swelled to seven volumes. The series was often unsparing of the French, who were reminded of such uncomfortable truths as their treatment of Marcel Proust, who, long before becoming a national treasure, had been scorned as a snob, a gay, and a Jew. Even so, Nora's project—intended as it was to undermine patriotic pomp—got caught in the whirlwind, receiving praise from pundits and landing quickly on the best-seller list. The phrase *lieu de memoire* was promptly added to the *Dictionnaire Robert de la langue française;* a 1913 historic preservation law was expressly revised to cover *lieux de memoire* as well as more conventional monuments. So much for spoiling the fun.

Now *Les lieux de memoire* has arrived on American soil. Titled *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* (Columbia), the book hasn't exactly become a best-seller, but it's already earning accolades: Arthur Goldhammer, who translated portions of the original into lucid English without sacrificing its Gallic timbre, has just received the French-American Foundation Translation Prize. In selecting essays for the Columbia edition, editor Lawrence Kritzman, a professor of French at Dartmouth, worked closely with Nora, who describes the English-language excerpts as "the very marrow of the work." The first volume to appear in English, *Conflicts and Divisions,* is actually short on the studies of physical sites and monuments which made *Les lieux de memoire* famous. (These will take up much of the next two books, *Traditions* and *Symbols*). Instead, *Conflicts and Divisions* provides arresting genealogies of a number of the major cleavages in French history, with chapters on the embattled relationship of Jews to the French Republic, the peculiar affinities of Gaullism and communism, Paris's haughty condescension toward *la province,* and the haphazard rise of the political terms "right and left" from their origins as seating locations in the Constituent Assembly.

Without resorting to polemics, the volume reminds us

Les lieux de memoire would serve as an antidote to nationalist historians like Michelet and Lavisse.



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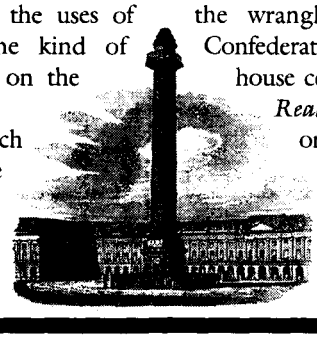
that the image of the French past is confected as much out of amnesia as out of memory. As Ernest Renan put it in his 1882 book *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?,* "the essence of a nation is that all the individuals have a lot of things in common, and that all of them have also forgotten a good many things." France has only recently, for example, begun to grapple with the Vichy collaboration with the Nazis and colonial abuses in Algeria. Other repressed sites of memory abound—like the Toul Selection Center, where Central European immigrants arrived en masse during the interwar years. As Gerard Noiriel points out in his essay "French and Foreigners," the center, unlike Ellis Island, was demolished before it had the chance to become a monument, "as if something dictated that a history so starkly at odds with the myth of the soil had to be magically erased." According to Noiriel, this studied indifference to the center's heritage was very much of a piece with the feverish assimilation policies that grew out of the Revolution and ultimately helped to repress France's immigrant past.

Realms of Memory claims that the meanings attached to an event are almost more eventful than the event itself.

If *Realms of Memory* contains a provocative claim, it is that the meanings subsequently attached to an event—the spectacles it generates—are almost more important, more *eventful,* than the event itself. The idea originates in Nora's 1974 manifesto "The Return of the Event." There Nora announced that "the event" had been unduly discounted by the Annales School, which saw even revolution as little more than a splash upon the deeper currents of economics and geography. Instead of calling for a return to the wars-and-kings approach to political history, however, Nora gestured toward semiotics, writing that it was not "the occurrence of an event that matters but the prominence, the volume, the pace, the interconnections, the relation to other events...." As Nora himself concedes in *Realms of Memory,* the ultimate logic of his obsession with the uses of the past is "to focus the same kind of attention on the Bicentennial...as on the Revolution itself."

Of course, it doesn't take a French patriot to question whether the Bicentennial deserves equal billing with the Revolution. In *The Independent,* the British writer Neal Ascherson has derided Nora's work as the expression of a chic pessimism about our powers of remembrance. "[Nora] is almost saying that the past cannot be recovered; all we have to play with is the ways in which the past is commemorated." Ascherson is not entirely off the mark. Nora's argument that memory "no longer exists," leaving historians to pick up the "traces," certainly has the ring of postmodern apocalypticism. To be fair, though, Nora is concerned with the terminal decline of a very specific sort of memory—namely, the image of the French Republic as bearer of humanity's hopes and ideals. According to Nora, this "memory-nation" is inexorably losing its hold over the French imagination in the wake of urbanization, the influx of Third World immigrants, and France's entrance into the European Community. The student of the French nation, he concludes, has little choice but to begin by exploring its haunted ruins. For Ascherson, this is to fatally confuse substance and artifice, thereby abdicating the historian's obligation to explain the past. "Give us those who come to bury Caesar—but give us Caesar too," he wrote. Yet, *pace* Ascherson, *Realms of Memory* does just this, only it tells the story backward—moving from contemporary remembrance to history.

Nora's autopsy of the French nation may be premature, as suggested by, say, the Jacobin imagery of the widespread public-sector strikes of 1995. But like many invocations of national decline, its effect will no doubt be to stir an interest in national history. Will Nora's series have the same impact on Americans? There is a sense in which the importance of "realms of memory" is already almost second-nature to American intellectuals. Take, for example, John Bodnar's *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1991), which views the responses of different veterans' groups and the American public to the Vietnam Memorial as a real-life illustration of conflict and competition between "official" and "vernacular" forms of memory. (Turn to the endnotes and you'll find a number of respectful references to Nora.) If books like *Remaking America* haven't accustomed Americans to putting their historical memories into question, the battles around everything from the Smithsonian's Enola Gay exhibit to the wrangling over the displaying of the Confederate flag over the South Carolina state house certainly have. On these shores, then, *Realms of Memory* isn't likely to "trouble or even shock," as Nora supposes. After all, as the actress Simone Signoret once said, "Nostalgia isn't what it used to be."



ADAM SHATZ

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DREISER'S HOLIDAY

LAST YEAR, UNIVERSITY OF NEW ORLEANS American studies professor Douglas Brinkley came upon Theodore Dreiser's *A Hoosier Holiday* in the library stacks. He was surprised to learn that the 1916 nonfiction narrative of a road trip from New York to Dreiser's hometown in Indiana was out of print. So Brinkley approached Indiana University Press with a photocopy of the text and a compelling argument for a reissue: Dreiser's long-forgotten chronicle was the first American road book, the progenitor of such illustrious classics as John Steinbeck's *Travels With Charley,* William Least Heat Moon's *Blue Highways,* Henry Miller's *An Air-Conditioned Nightmare,* and, of course, Jack Kerouac's *On the Road.*

This March, Indiana will bring out the book for the first time since its first edition eighty years ago. The new version will include an introduction by Brinkley in which he argues that all the elements of the open-road genre as we now know it are present in Dreiser's book: the specific destination that makes the trip into a quest; the penchant for taking the back roads; the subtext of "getting in touch with yourself" through the journey; and the desire to see and understand the U.S. in all its sprawling grandeur. Brinkley certainly knows of what he speaks. For the famous American Odyssey course that he has taught since 1992, he takes his students on semester-long trips across the country in his own bus. As Brinkley describes it in *The Majic Bus: An American Odyssey* (Doubleday/Anchor, 1993), his students have read *Naked Lunch* during an audience with William Burroughs in a Lawrence, Kansas art gallery, and hitched a ride on Ken Kesey's bus Further—with Kesey driving.

If Brinkley is just the person to re-introduce us to the first American road book, who better than Dreiser to originate the genre? Unlike many of his peers, Dreiser did not moralize about his culture's forward march into technology and consumerism. While the rest of the country debated whether the car was good or evil, the writer, angered by the industrialists' greed but enamored of the liberating potential of technology for ordinary people, gave himself over entirely to the pleasures of the open road, with illustrator Franklin Booth and a mechanically gifted chauffeur known only as Speed. "I can think of nothing more suited to my temperament than automobiling," he writes in *A Hoosier Holiday.* "It supplies just that mixture of change in fixity which satisfies me—leaves me mentally poised in inquiry, which is always delightful."

Indeed, by the time of his 1925 masterpiece, *An American Tragedy,* Dreiser's departure from his contemporaries on the cultural meaning of cars becomes especially clear: Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby,* published that same year, links the automobile to the desolate Valley of Ashes landscape and makes it a murder weapon; in Dreiser's novel, meanwhile, automobiling in the beautiful upstate New York countryside is associated with the carefree social strata the protagonist aspires to, and the only murder takes place in a prosaic rowboat.

The temptation is to approach a work like *A Hoosier Holiday* as merely a study for the fiction, and indeed the seeds of *An American Tragedy* are strewn throughout the book. As Dreiser cruises through Paterson, New Jersey, a city reminiscent of the novel's fictional Lycurgus, New York, he remarks that "there is nothing in Paterson, most people will tell you, save silk mills and five-and-ten-cent stores. It is true. Yet to me it is a beautiful city in the creative sense—a place in which to stage a great novel." In Buffalo, he finds creative inspiration in the city's dreary factory vistas: "I spent my time speculating as to what sort of people occupied the small drab houses which faced this picturesque prospect. I imagined a poet as great as Walt Whitman being able to live and take an interest in this grimy

Did Theodore Dreiser write the first American road book?

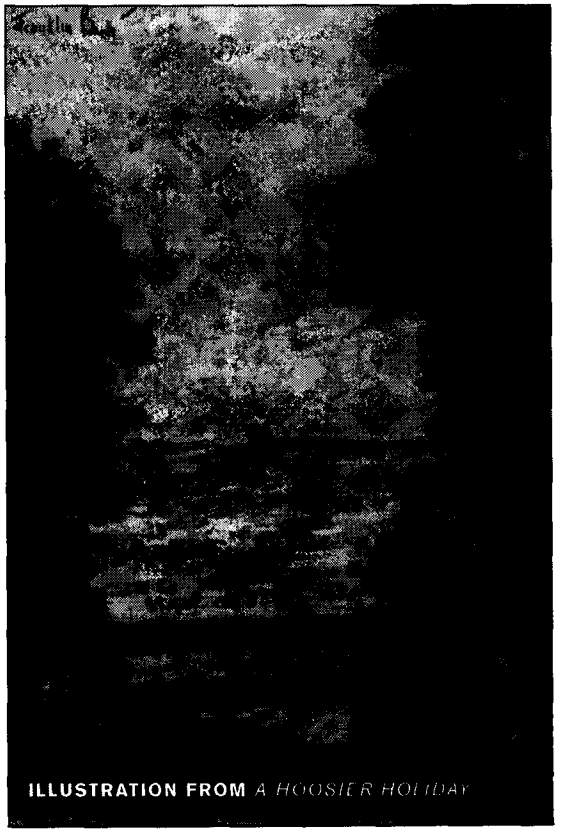

ILLUSTRATION FROM *A HOOSIER HOLIDAY*

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beauty, with thieves and pickpockets and prostitutes of a low order for neighbors."

But *A Hoosier Holiday* should gain new readers for Dreiser on its own terms. With his keen eye for striking industrial landscapes, subtle class distinctions, and pretty girls, Dreiser is an engaging and energetic traveling companion. Like the sleek "sixty-horsepower" car that Dreiser never tires of praising, the genre itself seems to exhilarate him. The tangled and overwrought Dreiserian prose that critics love to ridicule is nowhere to be found. Dreiser has something interesting to say about even the sleepiest towns, and the cultural criticism spread liberally through the book is incisive, witty, and prescient. His affection for his country always comes with a note of skepticism. Of the rising suburbs of Cleveland he writes, "If I had had the implements I would have tacked up a sign reading 'Non-conformists beware! Detour south through factory regions!'"

Here, Dreiser may differ slightly from his latest champion. The agenda of Douglas Brinkley's American Odyssey course is unabashedly nationalistic; Dreiser's relationship with his native land is more ambivalent. The big-hearted writer was full of affection for the landscapes he passed through. But on the trip back to New York, as the Great War raged in Europe, he was put into an almost apocalyptic mood about American democracy. His book ends with a prediction that our way of life "cannot survive ultimately"—and with an imagined reverie in which future historians look back on the late, great nation: "But oh, the wondrous memory of it!"

MARIA RUSSO

THE SCHISM

IN HIS 1984 BOOK *THE NAKED PUBLIC Square: Religion and Democracy in America* (Eerdmans), the Reverend Richard John Neuhaus urged his fellow Christians to approach their quarrels with government soberly and not to indulge in fantasies of persecution and martyrdom. "Life is problematic enough," he wrote, "without picking fights."

Twelve years later, a few of Neuhaus's colleagues began accusing him of that very sin: launching a less-than-sober debate that will distract and discredit its participants. At issue is "The End of Democracy?: The Judicial Usurpation of Politics," a symposium published in the November 1996 issue of *First Things*, the culturally conservative monthly that Neuhaus launched in 1990. Two of the seven members of *First Things'* editorial board, the neoconservative scholars Peter Berger and Gertrude Himmelfarb, were so alarmed by the symposium's rhetorical ferocity that they resigned in protest. Fellow conservatives at *The Weekly Standard* denounced the magazine for succumbing to the "anti-American temptation." Articles about the fracas appeared in *The New Republic* and *The New York Times*. And the journal has been flooded with enough letters and ripostes to fill its pages through half of 1997. All of this has *First Things'* creators—who aspire, in contributor Mary Ann Glendon's words, to produce "*the* serious magazine of religion and public life"—straining to return the subject of discussion to the courts' alleged excesses rather than their own.

First Things' creators are straining to return the discussion to the courts' alleged excesses rather than their own.

According to Russell Hittinger, the University of Tulsa law professor who helped to organize the symposium, the project was inspired by the Supreme Court's May decision *Romer* v. *Evans*, in which Colorado's anti-gay-rights Amendment 2 was struck down, and by two federal circuit-court decisions invalidating states' anti-euthanasia laws. "These three cases all came down in a row," Hittinger says, "and they created a real sense of crisis." Besides Hittinger, the symposiasts included Robert Bork, now a scholar-in-residence at the American Enterprise Institute; Hadley Arkes, professor of jurisprudence at Amherst; Robert George, the Princeton professor of politics who tangled with Martha Nussbaum in the course of the Amendment 2 litigation; and Watergate alumnus Charles Colson, who now directs a prison fellowship program. The five essays were grounded in familiar conservative objections to the courts' treatment of abortion, euthanasia,

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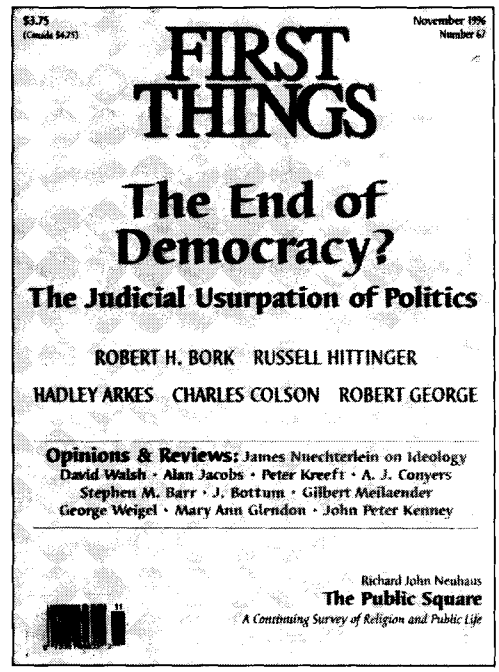
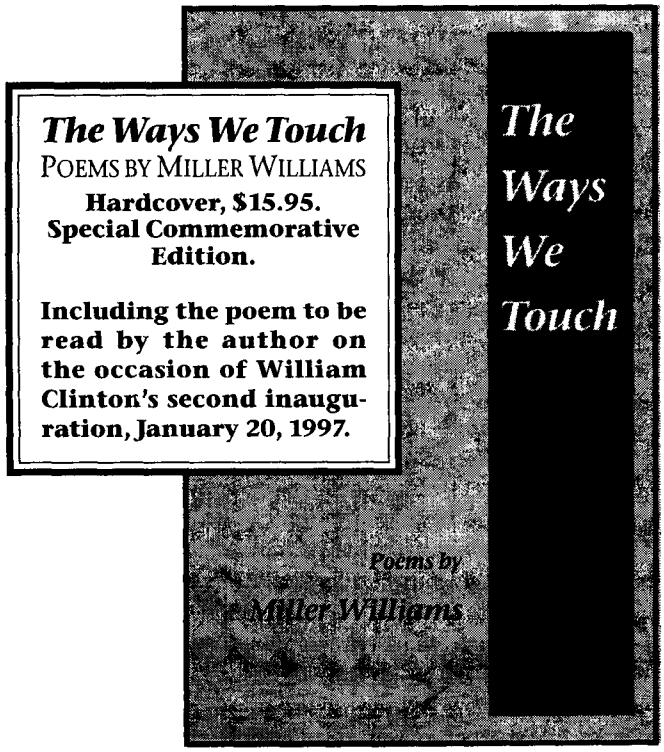
gay rights, and religious expression. Especially disquieting to the symposiasts was language in *Romer* that seems to prohibit religiously motivated legislation that disadvantages *any* class of citizens. (If the left-wing Catholic activists of the Industrial Areas Foundation launched a campaign for rent control, for example, would the *Romer* principles allow landlords to fight back with an equal-protection claim? This notion is not outlandish.)

But the symposium expounds these familiar arguments at a fierce and unfamiliar pitch. Four of the five essays contemplate with evident approval the prospect of mass civil disobedience, and Colson—"with fear and trembling"—goes one better: he nods at Jefferson and proclaims that "revolution can be justified from a Christian viewpoint." (Colson hastens to add that we have not yet reached that point, but a few readers are more impatient: The symposium has been mentioned on the newsgroup misc.activism.militia, in a thread titled "The Moral Justification for Violent Revolution.") The tone of the proceedings is captured in the editors' introduction: "What are the consequences when many millions of children are told and come to believe that the government that rules them is morally illegitimate?...What are the cultural and political consequences when many more Americans, perhaps even a majority, come to the conclusion that the question is 'God *or* country'?"

For Himmelfarb, all of this was a touch too feverish. While she agrees with the symposiasts' arguments about judicial accountability, she recoils at the way in which the magazine framed the discussion. In her letter of resignation, she argues that this fight ought never to have been picked: "The editorial cites the American Revolution as if we are now in a similarly revolutionary situation—an analogy that...is absurd and irresponsible.... This is not, it seems to me, a proper mode of political discourse, still less of





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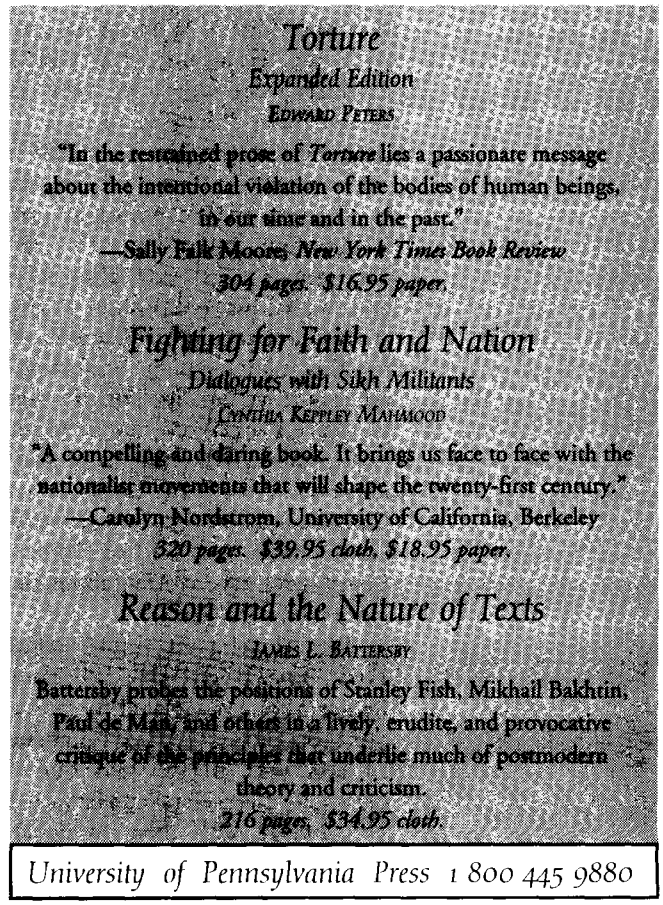

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conservative political discourse." (In a follow-up discussion in the magazine's January issue, William Bennett writes that the magazine's talk of "the existing regime" reminds him of his "late 1960s graduate school days...'Amerika' with a *k*, the New Left, and all that.")

Berger, a Boston University sociologist whose collaboration with Neuhaus goes back thirty years and includes the book *Movement and Revolution* (1971), shares the magazine's opposition to judicial overreach; but he is convinced that the magazine's talk of civil disobedience and revolution is animated by different concerns. What's really driving *First Things'* motor, he suggests, is a natural-law-based antiabortion politics that would denounce the American "regime" as illegitimate just as strenuously if abortion were protected by popular referendum and not by the courts. He points to the letters page of the November issue, in which Neuhaus concurs with a reader's claim that abortion is "a moral enormity" on par with the Holocaust. "If you believe that a thirty-week-old fetus has any rights," Berger says, "there's no room for you in the Democratic Party. And if you believe that aborting a one-week-old fetus may not be murder, there's no room for you in the Republican Party. So it's very difficult. The debate is already absurdly constructed, and with this symposium *First Things* has crossed a certain line." Berger has also objected to the symposium's uniformity of voice, arguing that it did not do justice to the magazine's actual breadth. Even without Berger and Himmelfarb, the masthead retains an impressive range of Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic thinkers—and notably includes writers like Glendon, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Glenn Loury, who have written about the courts in a more moderate vein.

> Colson nods at Jefferson and proclaims that "revolution can be justified from a Christian viewpoint."

For their part, most contributors to *First Things* believe that it is Himmelfarb and Berger who have violated the norms of conventional discourse. "If I see my friends advancing an argument that I find outrageous," says Glendon, a professor at Harvard Law School, "I'll engage with them in debate. I'm very impatient with [Himmelfarb and Berger's] decision simply to walk away." Neuhaus himself says that he "is very hopeful" that no friendships or professional relationships will be permanently damaged by this debate. He regrets the symposium's overuse of the word "regime," which he says was not intended to call into question the entire political order.

Another member of the *First Things* editorial board is the impossible-to-pigeonhole Duke theologian Stanley Hauerwas, who counts both Stanley Fish and Alasdair MacIntyre among his closest friends. Hauerwas is ardent in his support of the symposium: "I think it shows that the magazine has great integrity," he avers. But he quarrels with the symposium's focus on the courts as institutional villains. "The problem isn't the courts," Hauerwas says. "The problem is the American people! The conservatives don't want to admit that this is what the American people want! They *want* assisted suicide! They believe in autonomy!" Glendon, arguing from a very different angle, makes a similar point: "The courts have been captured by the knowledge class, but the legislatures have been captured by the money class. These are both serious challenges to the republic."

These complaints might seem to buttress Berger's argument that the courts were never in fact at the emotional core of *First Things'* symposium—that the theme of judicial tyranny is mere window dressing for a deeper (and more controversial) cultural critique. In the January issue, Neuhaus replies, "[Critics] remind us that the problem is more with the culture than the courts. We wholeheartedly agree.... [But] we did not choose this controversy. It was started by a judiciary, and most particularly a Supreme Court, that has increasingly arrogated to itself the legislative and executive functions of government."

Organizer Russell Hittinger suggests that the symposium's critics have been too reluctant to subject American institutions to rigorous critique. "Religious conservatives," he says, "should never simply underwrite the status quo of any culture in any country." And he insists that the judiciary is a natural first target for such a critique. "Our first job was to create a debate. Of course, for a full discussion, we'll have to go much deeper than the courts. But the courts are like a weather vane. What better way to begin the discussion than to look at which way the weather vane is pointing?"

DAVID GLENN

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DEEP FRIEZE

"WE ARE HAVING A TERRIBLE TIME with the Parthenon frieze," says classicist Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway. The Bryn Mawr professor is referring to the imperfect state of our knowledge about one of the major monuments of Western culture—and one of the least understood. For 200 years, the frieze has been interpreted as a representation in stone of a Panathenaic procession, a celebration in honor of the goddess Athena. But there is no consensus about the identities of some of the figures or the significance of some of the scenes in the frieze.

In 1991, a radical new theory was proposed by Joan Connelly, associate professor of fine arts at NYU. Her interpretation posits an entirely different kind of celebration—and a rather grim one. The central act being commemorated, according to Connelly, is to our minds repulsive: the sacrificial death of three children.

With its noir themes of youthful innocence and violence, Connelly's is very much an interpretation for the Nineties. She has received considerable attention from the press, including articles in *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Yet even though Connelly has found some supporters—particularly, she says, in France and England—and been awarded a MacArthur Foundation "genius" award for her work, many of her colleagues are skeptical.

This January, the University of Wisconsin Press published *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia & Parthenon*, an anthology of essays edited by Jenifer Neils, the chair of art history at Case Western Reserve. The book includes two significant attempts to rebut Connelly's theory.

Since the British travelers James Stuart and Nicholas Revett first identified the frieze as a Panathenaic procession in 1787, few have challenged their finding, although serious discrepancies between the carved images and the written sources describing this festival remain. Where, for example, is the wheeled ship carrying the new peplos (the cloth worn on the upper torso) that is presented to the goddess at the ceremony's climax? This all-important garment seems to appear only in one enigmatic scene on the frieze in which a man and a child hold a folded cloth between them.

Does the Parthenon frieze *really* depict child sacrifice?

For the last two centuries, students of the frieze have dealt with such problems by offering refinements to the core interpretation, sometimes proposing convoluted explanations for the anomalies. Unsurprisingly, for scholars who had spent their professional lives polishing variations on the Panathenaic themes, Connelly's radical hypothesis about child sacrifice, was, as one classicist put it, "extremely upsetting."

In Connelly's version, published last January in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the frieze tells the story of the three daughters of King Erechtheus, who willingly sacrificed

ART RESOURCE

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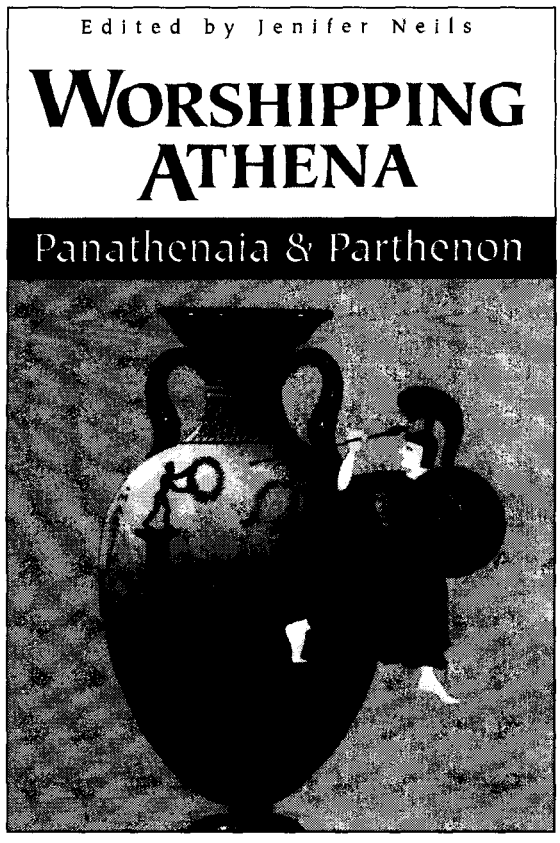
themselves to save Athens from destruction. Her source for the tale is Euripides' tragedy, the *Erechtheus,* only fragments of which survive. Written about ten years after the completion of the Parthenon, the *Erechtheus* relates the story of an ancient Athenian king who is told by the oracle at Delphi that he can protect the city from danger only by sacrificing his daughter. As it turns out, Erechtheus's three daughters have unwisely taken a vow to die together. The queen, Praxithea, promptly announces that all three must be sacrificed for the good of the polis: "The ruin of one person's house is of less consequence and brings less grief than that of the whole city...I hate women who in preference to the common good, choose for their own children to live." The sacrifice is performed, the Athenians are victorious, and a grateful Athena orders the citizens to remember the three sisters with annual ceremonies.

The frieze is not a sacrificial drama, writes Evelyn Harrison. It is a pageant representing the greatness of Athena's city.



According to Connelly, the frieze's peplos scene shows the youngest daughter helping her father unfold her sacrificial garment, while her older sisters approach their mother carrying their own folded shrouds. The sacrifice itself will take place off-stage, Connelly argues, in keeping with the conventions of high classical art.

Connelly makes a striking case that a central monument of Western culture was built not to glorify Athenian democracy but to celebrate the primitive and irrational act of female-child sacrifice. Her larger concern, however, is what such a reading tells us about the place of women in Greek culture. "The role of women in sustaining and preserving the life and culture of the community is paramount," she writes. "Yet, valiant and heroic women go willingly to death, and are proud of their vital roles in saving the populace. They are the equals of men who die in battle for their cities." This view contrasts sharply with the traditional one which holds that in ancient Athens the ultimate honor for women came from bearing sons who would fight for the glory of the city.

It is just such a traditional view that the Wisconsin anthology appears to bolster. Although two papers from a 1993 Princeton symposium that Connelly participated in are included in *Worshipping Athena,* Connelly herself wasn't formally asked to contribute to the book, and in fact wasn't aware that it was being published. "I would have liked the opportunity," she told *Lingua Franca.* "If two viewpoints are expressed in a symposium, generally they are both recorded." (Editor Jenifer Neils says she understood that Connelly was planning to publish her paper elsewhere.)

The two Princeton papers, by Neils and Evelyn Harrison, a professor emeritus of Greek art at NYU's Institute of Fine Arts, put forth what Harrison calls a "conservative reading" of the frieze. Neils reargues the case for the frieze as a Panathenaic procession, adducing evidence from vase painting to support her claim. Harrison focuses on the two central figures of the man and child holding the cloth and concludes that the partially clothed figure is a boy, not a girl, and that the cloth is being folded, not unfolded. "Connelly's reading may move us with the story of the heroism of the daughters of Erechtheus and their brave mother," Harrison writes, "but the Parthenon frieze is not a drama; it's a pageant. It stands for the greatness and continuity of Athena's city."

Connelly, who expects to finish a book about the Parthenon's sculptural program this year, believes it will take time for scholars in this country to assimilate her theory. "Whenever you bring out a new interpretation of one of the central icons of Western culture," she says, "it's normal for people to think it over and perhaps to hold on to the traditional view."

However her theory fares, it has already served to rekindle debate, and that, according to Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, is in itself a good thing. After all, she says, "all these years of thinking haven't solved the problem."

SYLVIA HOCHFIELD

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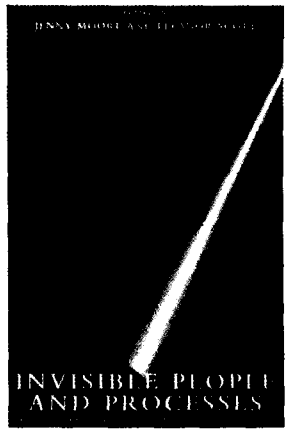

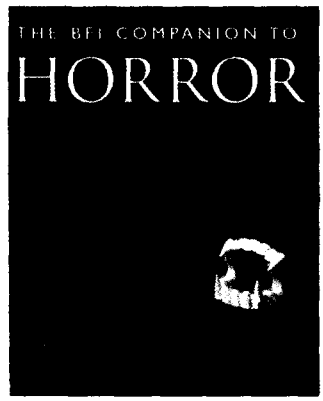

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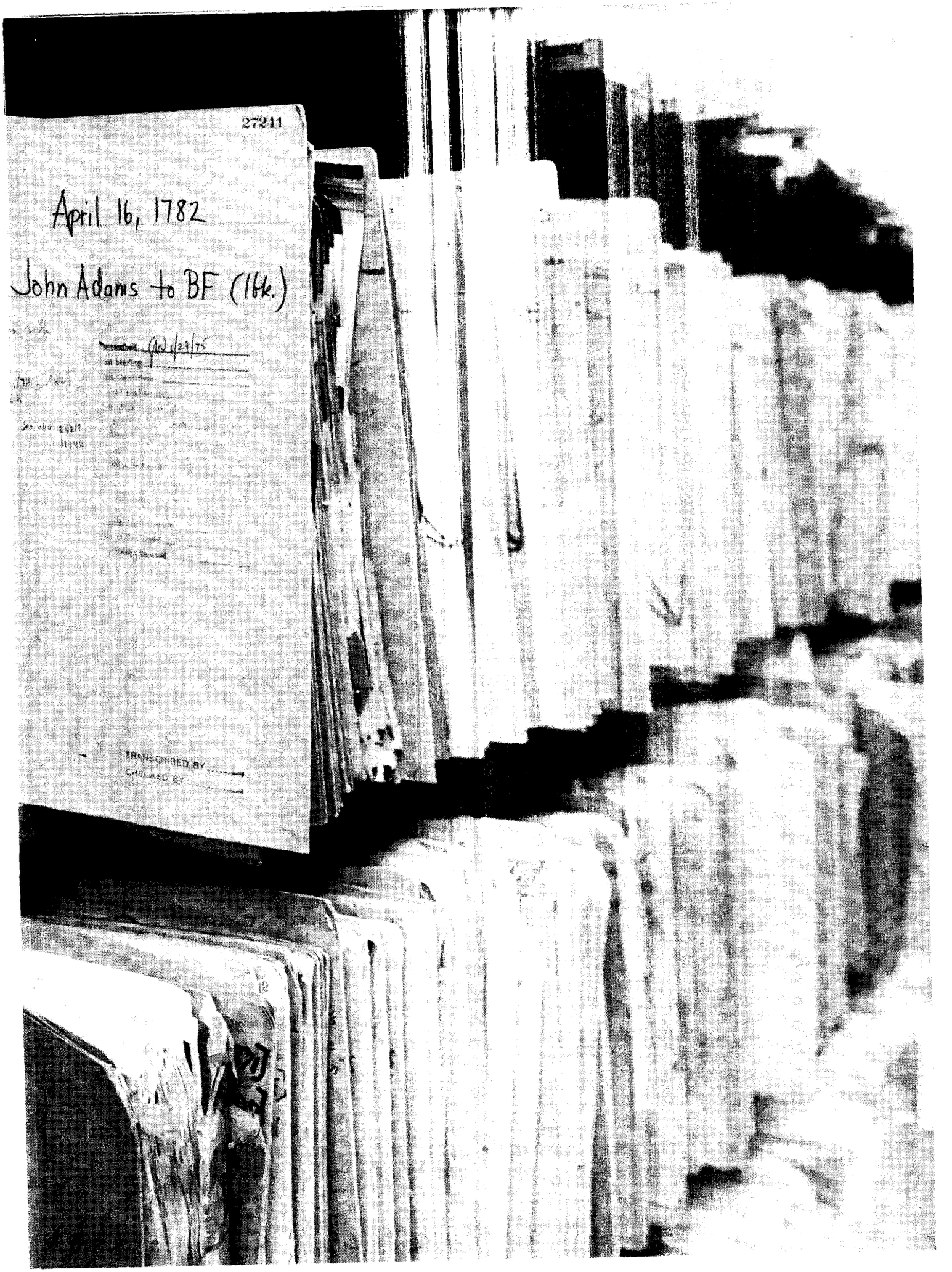

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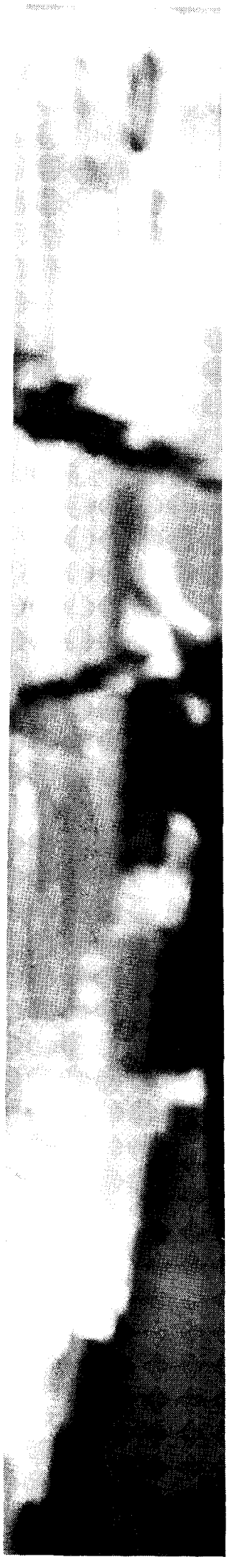

JASON SCHMIDT

IN THE FRANKLIN FACTORY

SLOW-MOTION SCHOLARSHIP IN AN AGE OF ACADEMIC OBSOLESCENCE

ON THE SECOND FLOOR OF YALE'S STERLING Memorial Library, the visitor exits the elevator into a vacant hall and takes a short silent walk to a door stenciled ROOM 230. Overhead is a placard set in a plain wood frame that reads simply, THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COLLECTION. The lower-case *c* and *t* of the last word are connected in a tiny curl of old script—the first clue that what happens behind this door dates back to some earlier time. The six scholars inside are engaged in one of longest ongoing projects in modern academe. They are editing and annotating, in chronological order, a 30,000-document cache known as the Franklin Papers—a collection of everything we currently know that the Founding Father ever wrote or received. Now at work on volumes thirty-four and thirty-five of a projected forty-six-volume set, the editors and their predecessors—some long ago recommitted to dust—have been steadily at work since Yale set the project in motion in 1954.

When I first spoke to one of the editors, Ellen Cohn, I asked how long she had been working there. "Oh," she said, "it was around the time Franklin left for Paris." Cohn has a soft, cautious voice—one, I imagine, born of the painstaking work of moving through a great man's life almost in real time. I found myself cupping the telephone as if I were protecting a candle flame from the wind. "Yes, I see," I said, my usually garrulous roar retreating to a sympathetic whisper. "But, um, could you translate that into the Julian calendar?" I could hear Cohn scratching something out on the other end of the line. Perhaps it's been a while since she thought this way. "Seventeen years," she said finally, "I've been here seventeen years. 1979."

BY **JACK HITT**

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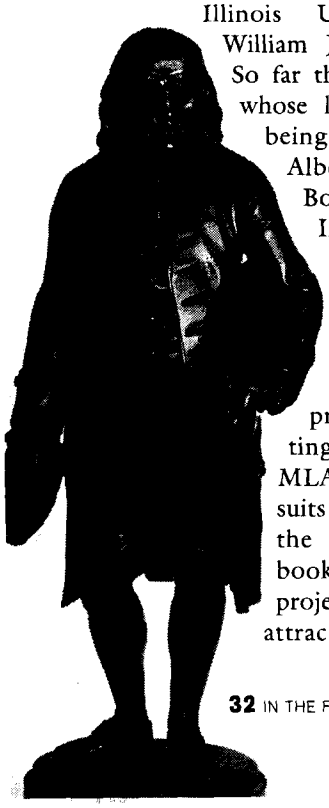
Nested in the less frequented warrens of the academy, a number of such projects plod on at their largely uneventful labor: Setting out for posterity the works of some of our culture's most prolific correspondents. Yale has the Franklin Papers. Scholars at Princeton have been assembling Thomas Jefferson's opus since 1944. There are James Madison and John Adams projects ongoing. The Alexander Hamilton Papers began in 1959 and closed up in 1979. When I called Dorothy Twohig—now working on the Washington Papers at the University of Virginia, late of the Hamilton project—to find out why the Gentleman of the Grange was given such short shrift, I thought I was onto something, maybe an academic bias or a historical insight. "No, no, it was just that Hamilton produced a lot less paper," she said. "The project was made easier to finish," she added, pausing with impeccable comic timing, "by Aaron Burr."

According to the Association for Documentary Editing, there are more than seventy such projects currently underway. Although the historical efforts might be the best known of a little known field, there are also literary papers projects out there—comprising the other camp of the "hits and the lits," as they're known. A few philosophers have received the full documentary treatment, most notably John Dewey at Southern Illinois University and William James at U.Va. So far the only scientist whose lifetime work is being annotated is Albert Einstein at Boston University.



In a time when the vanguard of academe has taken to aping our flighty pop culture, with lit professors strutting around the MLA in sharkskin suits and plundering the tabloids for book topics, these projects continue to attract the kind of scholar unafraid to devote half, sometimes all, of a career to a single long undertaking.

IN A TIME WHEN THE VANGUARD OF ACADEME HAS TAKEN TO APING POP CULTURE, THESE PROJECTS ATTRACT SCHOLARS UNAFRAID TO DEVOTE AN ENTIRE CAREER TO A SINGLE LONG UNDERTAKING.

The world that develops in places like Room 230 has its own distinctive culture, typically with its own founding legend, language, and habits; and, for those willing to linger, the folders of yellowing documents will eventually spill their stories of ancient dramas and hidden ambitions and old scores. Since many if not most of these editors lack doctorates (four of the six at the Franklin papers), the culture of achievement is not measured by the usual perks of tenure or the prestige of an endowed chair but rather by an Old World–style guild system of long, hard work. Knowledge is a rarefied privilege gained only after proper devotion to the documents. In Room 230, as I would come to learn, an ignored clerk seated in the corner can rise—apprentice, journeyman, master—to become a scholar of international standing. It only takes a lifetime.

MANY OF these projects date their origins to the early and middle decades of this century, when capturing the papers of a great person was "considered a feather in the cap of the university," said Franklin editor Barbara Oberg. As incredible as it may seem today, when the competition for the James Boswell Papers ended in 1949, the news of Yale's victory was reported on the front page of *The New York Times*. A widely published photograph showed the papers being trundled into the Yale library under armed guard. For the Founding Fathers projects, most of which started up right after World War II, "it was part of the Cold War," Oberg said. "That sense that Americans should understand where they came from, and know their own history, and that a good way to do that is to collect and publish, in verified form, texts of the Founders."

As if the shifting fashions of academic hipness weren't enough of a threat to such flat-footed pursuits, the end of the Cold War can be felt even here, in perhaps its farthest flung precinct. This year, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), a federal agency that owes its grant-making privileges largely to the founding era projects, demoted those endeavors to second priority status. In November, the commission passed a new funding plan that elevates several other grant categories to top priority, including the block grants that are given to state agencies to fund local projects. In the past, these bequests have ranged from funds for Seminole history in Florida to a $450 grant to pay an intern in South Carolina to process a collection at the Beth Shalom Synagogue. Another $5,000 went to establish an archives at a small seminary.

One might presume that the NHPRC was just falling in with the Washington Zeitgeist of preferring state efficiency over federal ineptitude, or, more cynically, that the NHPRC is pulling the oldest bureaucratic ploy in town: Scattering its money over as many congressional districts as possible to survive the knife at appropriations time. The NHPRC's executive director, Gerald George, says that the new plan was a matter of "leveraging" the funds and getting a "multiplier" effect for money. But whatever the explanation, the result is plain: Next year, the letters of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson must get in the back of the line, hat in hand, behind the memos of ex-governors and the

MICHAEL MARSLAND, YALE UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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collected receipts of beloved town clerks. According to Oberg, it's particularly painful to be troubled by funding doubts now. "We are so close to ending," she said. "We are shooting to finish by 2006, the 300th anniversary of Franklin's birth."

Oberg said this without a trace of irony in her voice because, in the unique time frame of these endeavors, she doesn't experience any. Dorothy Twohig was just as earnest when she told me how exciting it was to be able to have the end of the Washington Papers in sight. "We're projecting 2015 to 2017 as our completion date," she said. It is this sense of time that gives these places their particular character and attitude. Oberg told me that she was hired to serve as the fourth editor of the project, "in the middle of Franklin's mission to France" (which by then I could practically translate myself to be 1986). She had been the editor of the Albert Gallatin Papers at Baruch College in New York City when she was asked to devote, essentially, the rest of her career to Franklin. "I came in as editor when I was forty-three," she said, "with the expectation that I would be strong and young enough to finish it, which I think I am."

It takes a person of rare temperament for this kind of work, Twohig explained. "I interviewed a scholar recently who had written a paper on an obscure address," she said. "The work required a lot of labor among army materials and historical records. I knew right away he would be perfect. It's really historical detection. You either love it or hate it. But you have to be careful with hiring. I have seen perfectly good scholars go quietly berserk."

A good deal of the patience required is for sifting through a lifetime worth of paper and deciding precisely what gets included and what does not. When I jokingly mentioned including a laundry list, I was caught up short. "Well, yes, we included an absolutely fascinating tailor's bill in the last volume," Oberg said. "It revealed that contrary to his simple, Puritan image, Franklin bought a very luxurious, elaborate suit to wear when he presented his credentials at the court of Versailles. Bills are quite revealing. But we wouldn't include every receipt from a grocer." She paused. "We'd summarize those in a headnote on accounts."

ELLEN COHN

Those who sign on no longer view the volumes that slowly emerge as mere books, but rather see in them the kind of enduring work that Aquinas imagined for *Summa theologiae* or Ptolemy for his *Almagest*. And they are probably right. The Franklin Papers publishes about 1,000 copies of each volume, priced at $80 a book. Most of them are sold to libraries. A few are sold to collectors or manuscript dealers. The bulk of scholars in the future studying the Founding Fathers or their era will invariably turn to these editions. The original documents are often too frail to withstand the constant contact typically required by contemporary scholarship.

Besides, who doubts that it will be at least a good half millennium before a massive theoretical shift drives scholars to revisit all 6,000 pages of James Boswell's manuscripts or the complete diaries and correspondence of George Washington?

"My personal feeling is that these papers constitute a general contribution to knowledge," says the Boswell Papers' managing editor Gordon Turnbull, taking an expansive view of his labors. "As long as literary and historical study continues, these volumes will have a value and a place, and that is not true of most of the books that many, many, many worthy people have written for the purpose of getting tenure. I don't want to diminish one at the expense of the other, but the critical, theoretical book is not really a book in the sense that these editions are books. Most academic books are self-consciously polemical, openly acknowledging that they are contributing to a continuing debate. They may well be eclipsed by a computer bulletin board or a home page.

"The Fifties, Sixties, and Seventies saw a spectacular rise to professorial glamour and a premium placed on the theoretical, interpretive book. This was associated not only with deconstruction but with the more sociological movements that made their way into criticism for very good reasons—feminism, political leftism, etc. They were long overdue. But the critical waves have broken and crashed. They have been engaged in a very spectacular tussle and collision with each other. And I have enjoyed the whole thing. But in the meantime, these

THIS YEAR, A FEDERAL AGENCY DEMOTED THE FOUNDING FATHERS PROJECTS TO MERE SECOND PRIORITY STATUS.

JASON SCHMIDT

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scholarly editions march on."

Turnbull's tough standards for durability can be applied just as rigorously to the scholarly editions themselves. For example, George Washington's papers had already been coordinated several decades ago.

"The John C. Fitzpatrick edition in the late Thirties and Forties produced thirty-seven volumes and a two-volume index," Twohig said. "But it was one side of the correspondence and without annotation. It's a decent job." She paused, not wanting to damn with faint praise, but on reflection could only add, "Quite decent."

None of the scholars I talked with conceived of their work as narrow or dull. The great person under consideration was seen as a broad matrix for a much bigger view of history. Because of Boswell's extensive correspondence with the overseer of his Scottish estate, Auchinleck, Turnbull said he "is really a window on Scottish agrarian culture at the eve of the Industrial Revolution." Likewise, said Ellen Cohn, because Franklin helped instigate the American bid for independence, revolutionized journalism, overwhelmed science, and rather notoriously dallied with the society of Paris during his mission there, he is really "a window on the eighteenth century."

Plus, reading someone else's old mail, when you know the outcome, does provide a voyeuristic sense of drama. "We had Benedict Arnold's treachery in volume thirty-three," Oberg said, "but Franklin does not learn about it until volume forty-four, so you have this heightened sense of how it's going to feel when he opens this letter."

BECAUSE few of the scholars working on these projects were employed when the university first obtained the precious cargo, the facts surrounding that moment take on the elements of a founding myth. The central characteristic of the plot always seems to be a delicious fluke that set fate in motion. For instance, the Franklin Papers were said to owe their origin to a chance remark made by a Yale graduate and engineer named William Smith Mason. He had casually dismissed Franklin for not being a serious theoretical scientist. When Mason was told that Franklin's jolly persona was actually a mask that hid the greatest

BARBARA OBERG

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mind of his century, he decided to find out the truth first hand. His obsession resulted in 13,000 letters, busts, paintings, and written works that generally fall under the rubric "Franklin and his times." The collection came to Yale in 1936, and when the money began to appear after the war, the Franklin Papers were off.

The Boswell Papers, on the other hand, have a legend so complex and comical it is a book, entitled *Pride and Negligence: The History of the Boswell Papers* (McGraw-Hill, 1982).

The short version is that Boswell died with an extensive paper record packed away at Auchinleck. But the papers were ignored and then forgotten because of the misreading of a single letter in one word. Scholars kept reading a phrase as "burned at Auchinleck" until it was discovered centuries later that the phrase was actually "*buried* at Auchinleck," meaning stored there. By this time Boswell's descendants, the Lords Talbot of Malahide, were in dire financial straits and happy to sell to a rich collector. Enter a flamboyant American, Lt. Col. Ralph Isham, who bought the papers in the early Twenties and then went bankrupt trying to purchase additional discoveries for his collection.

After a tangle of lawsuits was settled, the papers came into play among the universities on this side of the ocean. Though the great Boswell scholar at the time was a Yale professor named Chauncey Brewster Tinker, Harvard desperately wanted the papers for reasons that have since been revealed to be somewhat less than noble. In a letter dated March 30, 1929, Harvard librarian George Winship wrote the papers' owner to explain why America's first university was so eager to take possession: "One special reason would make it particularly delightful if we could get these papers for Harvard. This is the fact that for many reasons Yale wants them very much indeed," Winship wrote. "The man on the Yale faculty whom we envy Yale more than anyone else is Chauncey Tinker; could we make Tinker come up to the Harvard library for the material which he can interpret better than anyone else now living, it would give some of us a very pleasant feeling."

"ONE SPECIAL REASON WOULD MAKE IT PARTICULARLY DELIGHTFUL IF WE COULD GET THESE PAPERS FOR HARVARD. THIS IS THE FACT THAT FOR MANY REASONS YALE WANTS THEM VERY MUCH INDEED," WINSHIP WROTE.

Such tiny treasures, constant and forever, provide a unique satisfaction. Still, I wanted to know how devoting one's life not only to one subject but to one person affects the papers' employees. Did they come to think of their man any differently after living with him for ten, twenty, thirty years? What was it really like to get up every morning, without exception, and all day long regard the minutiae of Ben Franklin's life? In order to understand the culture of one of these enterprises a little better, I arranged to meet with some of the scholars at the Franklin Papers and to attend one of their weekly staff meetings.

EVERY TUESDAY

at 11 A.M., the six Franklin editors gather around a small table at the end of the long shotgun space of Room 230. The length of one wall is lined with desks and bookcases, which look out of Gothic windows onto the quad below. The other walls are filled with caged bookshelves holding the crumbling texts of Frankliniana, the eighteenth-century works that might well have comprised Franklin's own library. In the center of the room is a simple shelf sprouting thousands of elephantine folders, each holding an individual document under consideration. On a nearby wall, twenty-nine pages of yellow lined paper are stapled to a board, listing the names and dates of the 840 documents that will potentially become volume thirty-four. Crammed throughout the room are busts, portraits, medallions, and other objects of the era.

Here and there, Franklin kitsch sits on the scholars' desks, while the high walls are filled with gold-framed engravings of Franklin, the ladies of Paris, the evangelist George Whitefield, and other Franklin contemporaries. The first matters under consideration one chilly morning were whether Franklin played the violin and whether he had read the Talmud. Both questions had arrived from regular folks in the mail, as questions often do. Since no one knew, the task of finding out the answers was shelved until some later occasion when someone would be given the research assignment. I'm certain the inquirers will get an answer sometime before the dawn of the new millennium.

There was great excitement that morning because Ellen Cohn had come upon a new version of what Franklin called a "bagatelle"—one of the light essays he wrote while living in Paris. This particular bagatelle, traditionally entitled "The Handsome and the Deformed Leg," is a classic Franklin performance. It is a parable of sorts, drawing a distinction between two types of people—those who strive to see "the Conveniencies of Things, the pleasant Parts of Conversation, the well-dress'd & well-tasted Dishes," and those who "speak only of the contraries." Franklin writes of a man who could instantly distinguish between the two types of people because he had one leg "by some Accident crooked and deform'd." If a visitor stared long at the bad leg, the man knew to have nothing to do with him. So, concludes our pithiest philosopher, "I therefore advise these critical, querulous, discontented unhappy People, that if they wish to be loved & respected by others and happy in themselves, they should *leave off looking at the ugly Leg.*"

JASON SCHMIDT

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The thrill that morning stemmed from Cohn's discovery of a new version that has Franklin translating his own French title from "La Belle et la Mauvaise Jambe" to "The Ugly and the Handsome Leg," rather than "The Handsome and the Deformed Leg." Seated as if for a Moravian dance, her hands folded in her lap, a modest babushka restraining her hair, Cohn stated softly that she thinks the papers should run with it.

Knowing history's bawdy rendition of Franklin's life in Paris, I at first suspected her modesty had something to do with maintaining a protective decorum around the group's eponymous hero. I picked up on a number of quick glances and looks of hesitation that finally culminated in a bowing of the head toward the most senior member of the team, Claude-Anne Lopez, known affectionately as Claude.

STAFF MEETING IN ROOM 230

"Fabulous," Oberg pronounced, "we will publish a different title and a version no one else has." There is a murmur of merriment at this stroke of good fortune.

At one point in the meeting, a fairly recent newcomer to the enterprise, Karen Duval, was asked to report on her work. Speaking in a deep velvety voice of scholarly authority, she mentioned a particularly flirtatious series of bagatelles addressed by Franklin to a Madame Brillon. When Oberg asked her to explain to me who this lady was, she balked and then blurted out a phrase so antique I suspected it must be Franklinian.

She said, "I daren't."

"Her husband acted as go-between," Lopez pronounced in her Belgian accent, her blue eyes flashing wickedly around the table. "It was all very French."

What I had observed, I would discover, had nothing to do with Franklin. Duval's demurral was not a display of discomfort but a ritual of deference: Lopez has been employed in Room 230 almost from the beginning, more than forty years of intimacy with the central rack of giant folders. Over the years, she has published three highly regarded studies of Franklin (one devoted three chapters to Brillon). But when Dwight Eisenhower was struggling with his first term in office, Lopez took her first job here as nothing more than a Yale faculty member's wife desperate for some engaging work. Being a polyglot, she was hired to transcribe the collection's French documents from eighteenth-century calligraphy into typed pages that would eventually be read and annotated by real scholars for publication. For this job of copying clerk, she was paid sixty-five cents an hour.

THE FIRST MATTERS UNDER CONSIDERATION ONE CHILLY MORNING WERE WHETHER FRANKLIN PLAYED THE VIOLIN OR READ THE TALMUD.

OVER A LONG lunch of lemon chicken soup and carrot cake at the Yorkside restaurant in New Haven, I asked the project's master scholar to fill in the forty-year blank.

Lopez was a classics student who fled her native Belgium with her mother to escape Hitler. She came to America and eventually married an Italian man with a Spanish surname who went on to teach history at Yale. An admitted "Ph.D. dropout," she was hired by the project's first editor, Leonard Labaree, solely because of her fluency in French. For most of her career, she labored alone because her work concentrated on Franklin's mission to Paris, from 1776 to 1785, while the team was plowing through the documentary record of Franklin's life in chronological order, beginning in the 1720s. To add insult to isolation, Labaree refused to acknowledge his lowly clerk on the title page or even in the office.

"When there was a meeting," Lopez said, "I would be the only person not asked to join. I would be sitting right there, yet I was the only one not asked. It was very frustrating." This lasted a decade.

But by the mid-1960s, she had transcribed and become intimate with most of the documents central to an era that is arguably the most important, if not the most notorious, in Franklin's career. One night, at a dinner party, an academic overheard her spinning an anecdote about Franklin. The next day he called Lopez because the speaker scheduled to address a congregation of French professors had canceled. The faculty wife was asked to fill in.

JASON SCHMIDT

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"It turned out I am a good speaker," she said, "because I always stop after forty-five minutes." After a few years of giving talks, she gathered her ideas into a 1966 book about Franklin's Paris years called *Mon Cher Papa*. The book was praised widely in *The New York Review of Books* and elsewhere for its smart analysis of Franklin's relationships in Paris. By examining Franklin through the prism of his female friends, and by doing so in 1966 no less, Lopez had presciently produced a pioneering work of history—a kind of feminist approach that predated gender studies by decades. She published another book on Franklin and his family several years later, but still the boss of ROOM 230 could not find space on the papers' masthead for the woman who was by now the most celebrated scholar on his team. Only death would change his mind. In 1972, the new editor, William Willcox, was embarrassed by the omission and altered the title page at once. Still, the team was years behind her own work.

"As of volume fifteen, my name appeared in the books, but Franklin doesn't get to Paris until eight more editions," she said. "It wasn't until volume twenty-three that, at last, I felt like part of the team." That was in 1983, twenty-seven years after she was first hired.

After Willcox's death, Lopez was made "acting editor" for volume twenty-seven, the only tome that bears her name at the top of the page. There had been talk of Lopez taking over permanently.

"By then, I was in my sixties," Lopez recalled, "and I really wasn't very lucky. That was also the time my husband became very ill." She also explained that another editor took a leave of absence. "It was a very difficult time. I soon found out my husband had cancer. There were numerous trips I had to make."

She momentarily quit sipping her soup and looked away. "Let's see, I took over in 1983, or was it '84? It's all such a blur now. I did publish my volume as editor, volume twenty-seven. It's a number I will never forget." She clinched her spoon; her voice remained steady, without emotion.

"The board kept me waiting all my life and then they said I was too old," she said, allowing a moment of silence before returning to her soup. "But I don't want to sound bitter. I consider myself lucky to have had a career, considering I had no degree."

CLAUDE-ANNE LOPEZ

JASON SCHMIDT

TODAY, the masthead of the Franklin Papers explains that Claude-Anne Lopez is a consulting editor. But perhaps what is most interesting when one examines that page is that the male-dominated staff of four decades ago is now, with one exception, all women. In many ways, Franklin has benefited from the personnel change. I, for one, grew up believing that Franklin was a rogue and a wencher, especially in his Paris days.

"I don't know if he had affairs with those women," Lopez said of Franklin's alleged dalliances. "Look, he was in his seventies. He had gout. It was only for the ladies that he wrote in French. These were the bagatelles. And the ladies would go over his grammar and correct it. See, I think it was just another way that Franklin plunged into French culture. To him it was all part of his political mission. He was comfortable around women, and they adored him, as a father figure. They called him 'Papa.' That's where I got my title."

How fitting that men read these famously flirtatious letters and assumed (hoped?) that such sentiments must have been followed by Franklin boffing all the lovelies of Paris. How astonishing to have the same letters read by a woman with a gimlet eye on Franklin the man and conclude that the flirtations were more likely consummated with a game of chess or a cup of tea. Now that we all have sobered up in this postfeminist age, who would like to wager which of these hermeneutical analyses is more likely accurate?

What is also revealed by spending some time with Lopez and her colleagues is just how differently they think of Franklin than the rest of us. As with Lopez discussing those letters, the editors I interviewed talked about Franklin in the way one might gossip about somebody alive and nearby. At one point Lopez said that she "could never have fallen in love with Franklin because he was not emotional, except in his politics." Oberg mentioned how upset she was at an unnecessarily sharp letter Franklin had written his distressed daughter that seemed to reveal a man incapable of empathizing with someone else's suffering.

They acknowledge Franklin's brilliance, but they cite specific moments and actions, without engaging in the typical sentimental inflation that often plagues discussions of great figures from history. Ellen Cohn said she admired Franklin for putting his appreciation of good science before his emotions, even during the Revolution. While at war with King George, she said, Franklin personally issued to all American ship captains and privateers a passport guaranteeing safe passage to Captain Cook. Because Cook was on a mission of science, Franklin ordered that the explorer should be allowed to return to England unmolested. (Franklin could not have known that Captain Cook, by this time, had been murdered.)

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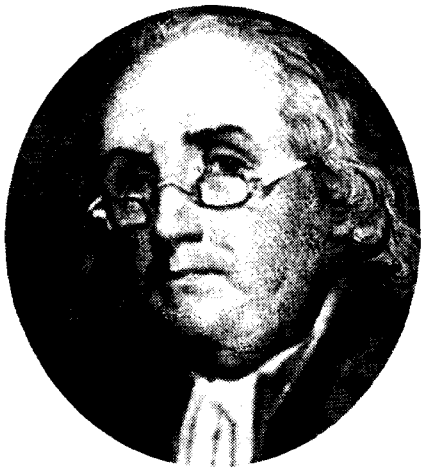

I never heard anything approaching Parson Weems–style adoration or the usual hagiographic impulses that often exude from most biographers, eager to convince everyone that the guy *they* are studying is the most important person in the world. I asked several of the editors if they dreamed about Ben Franklin. And all of them said that he hadn't invaded their night life. He was not an icon, rather he was a real presence for them during the day. They thought of him as someone they sort of knew.

"I talk to him every morning," Oberg confessed at one point, "when I come into my office. There's the wonderful 1782 Joseph Wright portrait of Franklin on the wall, and he's looking down at me. I try to explain to him what we're doing, what folders we'll be looking at that day. He probably thinks it's all a bit too much. Then he does this tiny tight smile, probably because he had such bad teeth, and then he tells me, 'Continue on, continue on.'"

AT THE MEETING, I was invited to question the group. So I asked the scholars what document would likely end the collection. Franklin's will? Each person at the table looked at me as if I had stabbed one of them in the head. "I forget that Franklin dies in the end," Oberg said quietly. Then everyone began tossing out ideas, particular letters they thought might be the very last.

Finally someone announced, hopefully at first, that there would be more work to do because they would have to issue an edition of errata. But the very admission that a half century of the most punctilious and exacting care going over every semicolon and ampersand would, nevertheless and always, require a list of errata plunged the group's mood into even more despair. I felt utterly, albeit politely, despised. Then Claude put her hands on the table and the staff turned its lonely eyes to her.

"We shall call it an addendum," she said.

"Addendum." Each one of them said the word several times, as if trying on a new hat. "Addendum." "Addendum." Another murmur of merriment swept the room as chairs scraped back from the table and the scholars returned to their desks.

Jack Hitt is a contributing editor of *Lingua Franca*. His article "Atlas Shrugged: The New Face of Maps" appeared in the July/August 1995 issue of *LF*.

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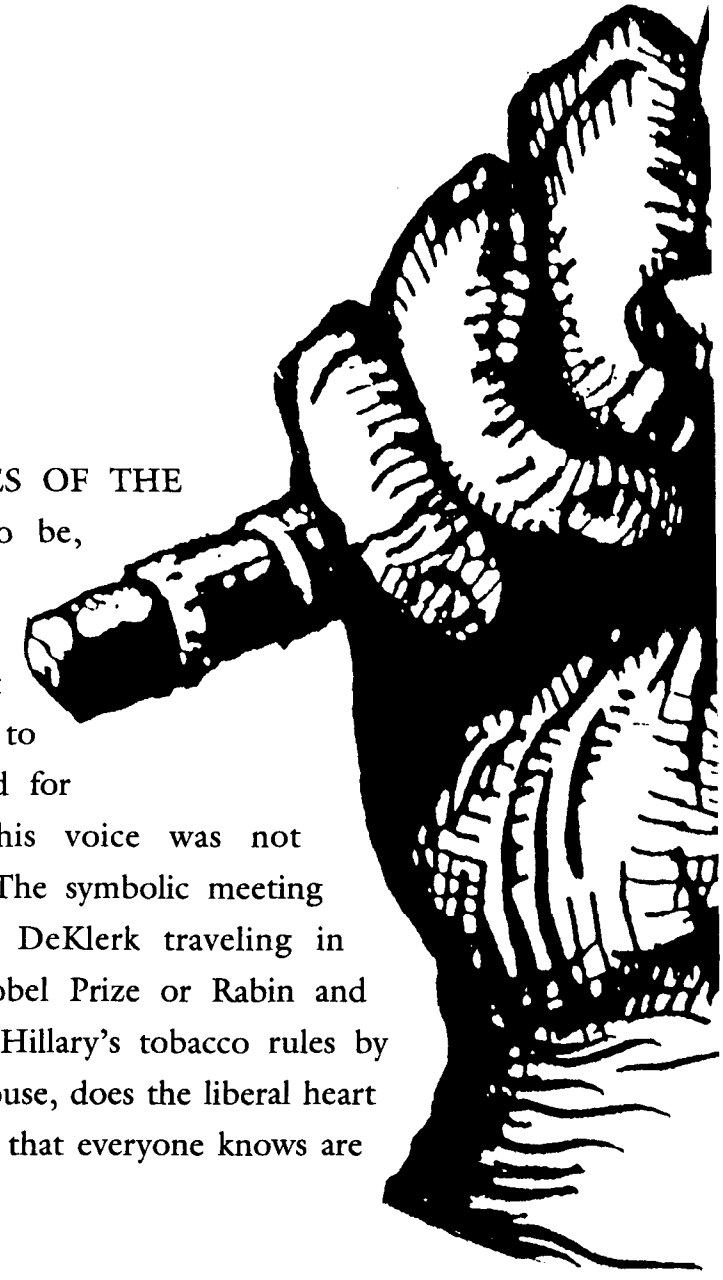
WALTZING WITH SWEENEY

IS THE ACADEMIC LEFT READY TO JOIN THE AFL-CIO?



WE HAVE SEEN ENOUGH EXAMPLES OF THE grand rapprochement in recent years to be, by now, almost bored with the idea. Mandela and DeKlerk forge a new South African Republic. Rabin and Arafat actually shake hands. John Major talks to Gerry Adams, a man so officially loathed for years by the United Kingdom that his voice was not permitted to be broadcast on the BBC. The symbolic meeting of historic foes, whether Mandela and DeKlerk traveling in tandem to Oslo to accept their joint Nobel Prize or Rabin and King Hussein, in a nice touch, breaking Hillary's tobacco rules by sneaking a smoke together at the White House, does the liberal heart some good but masks the latent ill feelings that everyone knows are likely to exist for a long time to come.

BY **MICHAEL TOMASKY**

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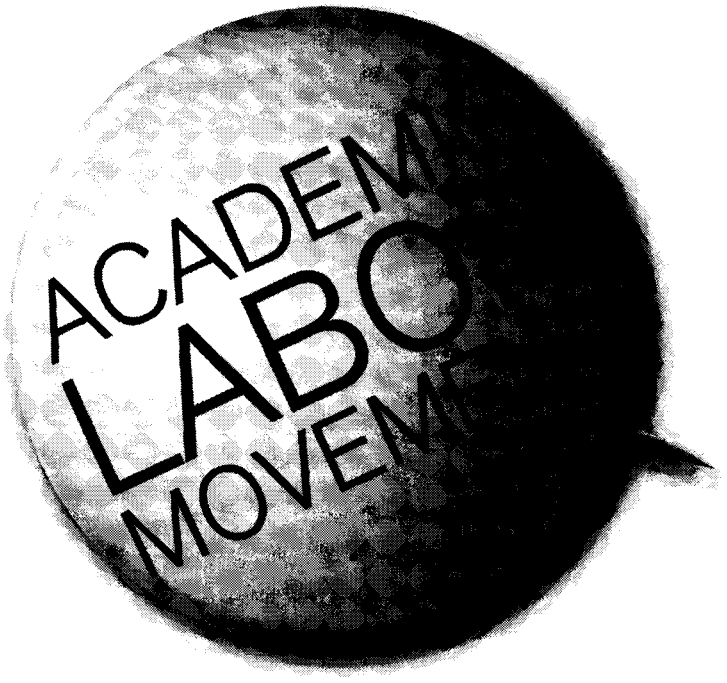

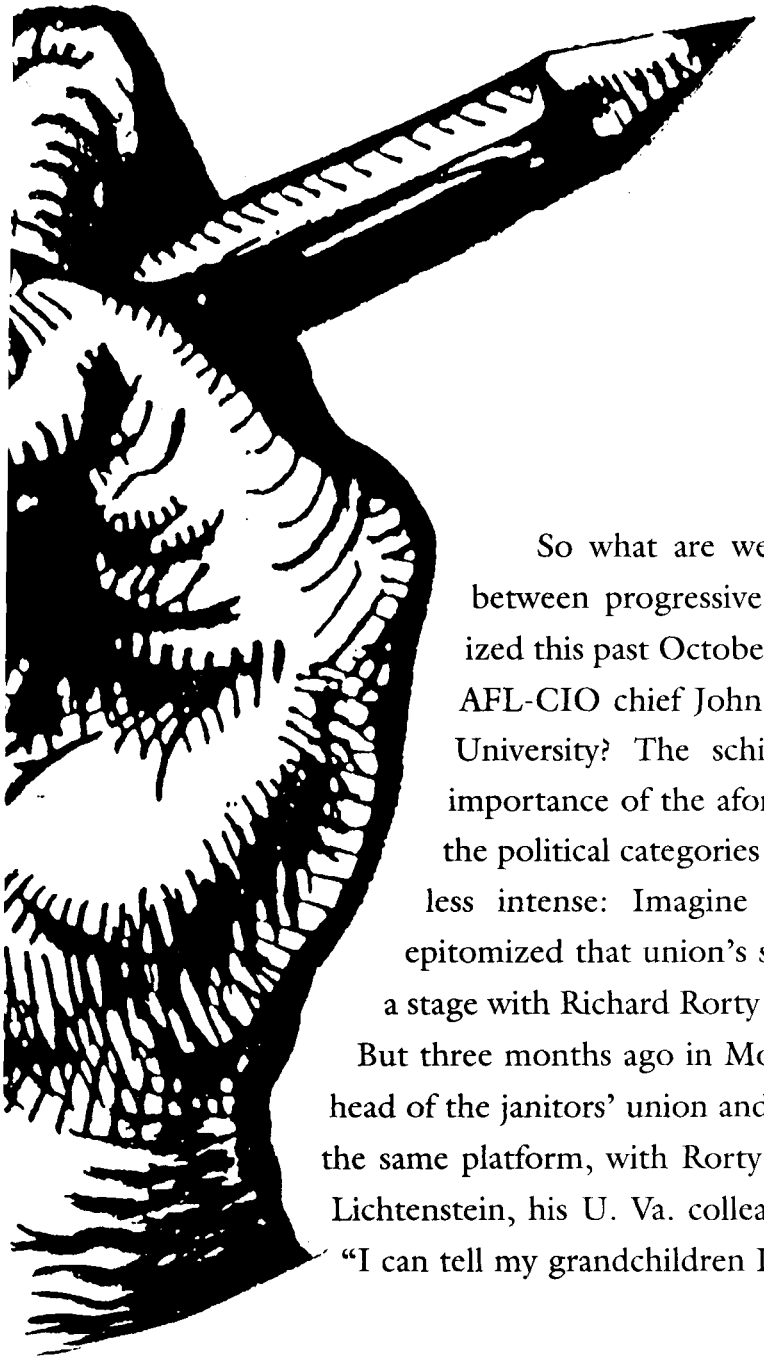

So what are we to make of the nascent rapprochement between progressive academics and organized labor, symbolized this past October by the much-heralded appearance of new AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney at a labor teach-in at Columbia University? The schism lacks, perhaps, the world historical importance of the aforementioned, but it is no less animated by the political categories of the Cold War era, and in many ways no less intense: Imagine ex-Teamsters boss Jackie Presser, who epitomized that union's slide into reaction and corruption, sharing a stage with Richard Rorty (or, more saliently, the other way around). But three months ago in Morningside Heights, there were the former head of the janitors' union and the University of Virginia philosopher on the same platform, with Rorty boasting in a subsequent note to Nelson Lichtenstein, his U. Va. colleague and one of the teach-in's organizers, "I can tell my grandchildren I was on the same stage as John Sweeney."

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FRASER AND LICHTENSTEIN HOPE THAT A REVITALIZED LABOR MOVEMENT CAN HEAL OLD WOUNDS IN THE ACADEMY.

The labor movement and the academy have been the two most reliable bastions of liberal and left-wing thought and action in twentieth-century America. And yet, they haven't really acted in concert since the 1930s, and emphatically since the 1960s, when the Vietnam War and the great cultural divide ripped them apart from each other. What could the organizers do to ensure that this teach-in would exempt itself from mere photo-op status and become a significant first step toward repairing the damage of the last thirty years?

They came in vast numbers to find out—around 1,700 that night at Columbia, the first time an AFL-CIO leader has addressed a crowd of liberal and leftish academics and students in no one knew how long. There was much talk of a revivified alliance between labor and the academy. After all, the Republican Congress provided a common enemy. And, with more and more universities and colleges adopting corporate models of "flexible" management, there is a rising class consciousness among faculty, not for the sake of pushing the dialectic to its next logical stage but simply to preserve their jobs.

But what happens next? One teach-in—actually, there were ten others over the course of the fall semester on campuses as distant as Clinch Valley College in southwestern Virginia, but they didn't have John Sweeney, and they weren't in New York City—does not make a movement or undo three decades of mistrust. Sweeney's Union Summer organizing drive and his $35 million investment against said Congress are all well and good, but they cannot tell us what will happen when the often narrowly self-interested politics of trade unionism comes face-to-face with the sometimes outlandish and unaccommodating demands of post–New Left out-groups and their academic champions. But lots of people think the point has finally been reached where the old hatchets can be buried. It is a leap of faith on both sides—a leap not everyone is taking just yet—but even the relatively modest steps thus far give proponents of the alliance some reason for hope.

FOR ANY development such as this one to take place, several factors must meet in happy coincidence. But "what really set it off," says Steve Fraser, one of the two key organizers of the teach-in, "was Sweeney's election." Fraser is a widely esteemed executive editor at Houghton Mifflin, and formerly of Basic Books, who has a long-standing interest in the labor movement and since last year has been trying to patch such a coalition together (he has published many academics and written a biography of labor leader Sidney Hillman). "Sweeney's election really seemed to change very suddenly and dramatically the potential for rebuilding this historical alliance," he says.

It's not that Sweeney, who was elected in October 1995, promised a sweeping catalog of radical changes on every front. An Irish Catholic native of the Bronx, Sweeney was not particularly identified with union reform movements and, in fact, had headed the Service Employees International Union, an outfit not known for being in the vanguard of progressive change. (The president of its New York City local and Sweeney's handpicked successor, Gus Bevona, pays himself more than $400,000 a year and runs such a secretive operation that his own members can't get into the local's offices without an appointment.) Nevertheless, Sweeney did campaign against the union's old guard, promising a massive effort to organize more workers; he has also replaced many cobwebbed "organizers"—who for years seemed to be organizing only the file cabinets in their offices—with energetic liberals and radicals.

The buzz caught the attention of progressive academics and intellectuals. In recent years, a number of left-leaning intellectuals have been disconcerted by the excesses of identity politics and by the downplaying of class in the academic left's holy trinity of "race, class, and gender." A revitalized labor movement, it seemed, might offer an opportunity for such anti-PC liberals and class-conscious radicals to come together in pursuit of a common aim. Lichtenstein and Fraser led the way initially, asserting, in a February 1996 letter to the editor in *The New York Review of Books,* that "the revitalization of the American labor movement can fashion a new politics of social solidarity and economic justice, and reverse the country's descent into the

(LEFT TO RIGHT) HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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kind of mean-spirited selfishness that so discolors the contemporary political scene." The letter was signed by a diverse crew of more than thirty on- and off-campus intellectual heavies—Stanley Aronowitz, Paul Berman, Eric Foner, Betty Friedan, Henry Louis Gates Jr., Todd Gitlin, David Montgomery, and Cornel West among them. It also won the support of prominent liberal academics like Theda Skocpol and, most strikingly, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who probably hasn't agreed with Aronowitz on anything since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But in Fraser's words, "there was no problem getting the signatures."

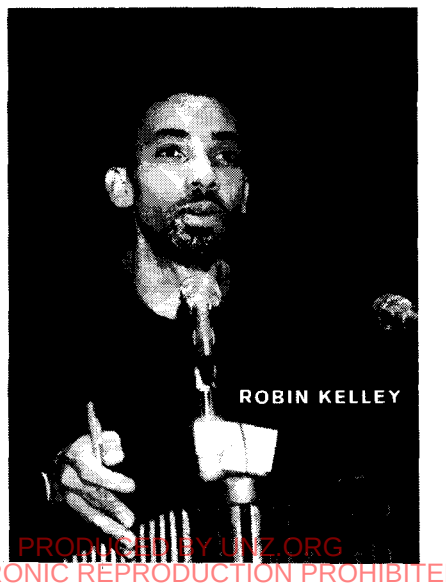
Next, Fraser, who works in Houghton Mifflin's nonfiction division, got Sweeney to write his book, *America Needs a Raise*, which, using the slogan the AFL-CIO advanced to support the minimum-wage increase then before Congress, argues broadly for programs of social justice. Then, in May 1996, Fraser and about twenty academics met with Sweeney and a handful of his top aides and proposed the idea of the conference. Fraser recalls his cohort being deeply struck by the novelty of receiving a fraternal greeting at the union's national headquarters. "The whole notion that we were even doing this was a shock to us," he says. "All of us would have been so completely unwelcome in those offices twenty-five years ago. They were receptive, but I think they wondered would it really happen, and quite frankly, so did we."

WELL – IT DID.

The overflow crowds—students, organizers, professors, some journalists, and a few of the usual fringe agitators—that ended up listening to the proceedings through large loudspeakers placed outside the hall provided evidence enough, in Lichtenstein's words, that the conference was "by any standard successful." There were three plenary sessions (the opening one consisting of Sweeney, Friedan, West, Rorty, Patricia Williams, and Foner) and fifteen panel discussions. But to say that the event was a success is not, of course, to say that beatitude triumphed over plain old attitude at every turn. We are still talking, after all, about the left.

The central divide that preoccupied the event was the issue that has kept this little cold war (and several others) going for so long—namely, whether class politics and race/gender politics can ever be reconciled. When Harvard sociologist Orlando Patterson argued, for example, that the left must support tougher immigration laws in the interest of driving up American wages, he was virtually booed off the stage. Robin Kelley of New York University, who had resigned his position on the steering committee because it was too white, too male, and not left enough, had a go at fellow panelist and NYU professor Todd Gitlin (and, it should be noted for purposes of full disclosure, this correspondent) over identity politics and the relation between declining wages and the changing (i.e., darker and more female) nature of the American workplace. Gitlin received a pretty tough response from the audience when he suggested that entering floats in the West Indian Day parade was not necessarily the best way to go about building a majority coalition. It didn't even seem to help much that Jo-Ann Mort, the communications director of the UNITE needle-trades union and a woman who spends her share of time helping to defend the rights of working people of color, came in on Gitlin's side.

ROBIN KELLEY RESIGNED FROM THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE BECAUSE IT WAS TOO WHITE, TOO MALE, AND NOT LEFT ENOUGH.



ROBIN KELLEY

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Rorty's address was the most controversial talk of the conference. Gliding below the radar of all these presentations was, of course, the question of the white working class and its attitudes, to the extent that so large an "it" can be said to have collective attitudes—its support of the Vietnam War, its patriotism, its relative conservatism on cultural issues, and what thinkers of the Kelley school would call its out-and-out racism. Sidestepping these issues, Rorty used his podium time to lambaste the New Left over what he saw as its failure to make common cause with labor in the Sixties and its "stupid and self-defeating" hatred of America (check that—Amerika). That Rorty did not lay blame on, for example, the AFL-CIO's support of the Vietnam War seemed a rather glaring omission to many in the audience. The next evening *Nation* columnist Katha Pollitt received a standing ovation for arguing that maybe the fissures were more labor's fault than the students', and for defending almost all the things Rorty railed against.

Fraser says he found Rorty "very one-sided." Jo-Ann Mort, by contrast, says, "I thought he was absolutely right. We need to respect people's differences on cultural and social issues." Lichtenstein argues—perhaps trying to demonstrate that the disagreements are indeed a matter of history only—that he "was delighted

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that that politics was put forward; people can not like it, but that does not stop the teach-in." Whatever the case, all the debate served to indicate just how much repair work remains to be done before the academic left and the AFL-CIO become comrades-in-arms. After all, by 1950, organized labor had largely settled into being less a broad social-justice movement than one more interest group, albeit the country's most important one. It's the Thirties that are often remembered as the last great age of coalition, though some labor historians on the left, hesitant to buy the "it's the Sixties' fault" argument, contend that unions were disassociating themselves from the knowledge class even during the Depression. "Unions began to bureaucratize themselves in the Thirties and move away from broad organizing and association with intellectuals," says Peter Rachleff, professor of history at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota.

JOHN SWEENEY

"SWEENEY'S ELECTION CREATED THE POTENTIAL FOR REBUILDING THIS HISTORICAL ALLIANCE," FRASER SAYS.

FOR ALL THAT, even into the early Sixties there was enough mutual affection, between labor and students at least, that labor could take some credit for the birth of the New Left: The Student League for Industrial Democracy, in the Fifties a somewhat careworn tendency whose small bills were paid by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a few other socialist unions, had evolved by 1960 into Students for a Democratic Society. SDS had just three active chapters then, but that was enough, since one of them held forth from the University of Michigan, where the *Port Huron Statement* was conceived. It might not have been 1848 Vienna, where students led workers in armed battle against the Hapsburg guard (and the workers actually followed!), and C. Wright Mills may not have been Engels, but it was heady stuff all the same.

But as the Sixties marched on, the great sores opened up, and even if there is something to Rachleff's argument that the divisions started before the Sixties, it can't be denied that they exploded during that decade. Labor, by now little more than a client of the Democratic Party, and in many respects the centrist and hawkish branches of the party, moved toward bald Cold Warriorism, and in some cases indifference or hostility to the great cause of that decade, civil rights. (It was not without reason that Richard Nixon came to support the imposition of affirmative action on the Philadelphia construction industry, confident that it would drive a wedge between two key Democratic constituencies.) And the radical movements of the Sixties, focused around identity politics and sometimes apocalyptic fantasies of revolution, were utterly alien to organized labor. When organized labor and the left academy were not outright antagonists, they were speaking completely different languages.

THIRTY YEARS have passed, and the groups are only just now beginning to learn how to talk to each other again. Robert Borosage, co-director of the Campaign For America's Future, a Washington-based organization that intends to build itself into an alternative to the Democratic Leadership Council, sees several factors besides Sweeney's election at work. First, the collapse of the Cold War rendered anticommunism a moot point. Second, the American workforce today, especially the unorganized workforce in low-paying jobs, consists increasingly of women and minorities—a change that has forced unions into new and different styles of organizing and perhaps sets forth a basis for the reconciliation of class and identity politics: Unions have had to grow out of some of the latent racism and sexism that existed in their hierarchy in order to better represent their members, both existing and potential. And third, Borosage says, "for middle-class kids, the assumption of affluence has been shattered"—leading to more organizing on campuses among graduate assistants and adjuncts and to a more general awareness that the affluence America knew in the postwar era owed a great deal to the efforts of unions to increase wages and improve working conditions.

Now, Borosage argues, the objectives should be, for the academy, "to give unions a base of support intellectually," and for labor, "to make a broad argument for working people and poor people rather than the narrow union argument." Academics, he continues, not only should speak at

AFL-CIO

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seminars but should be involved locally in organizing drives and other labor-related projects. For its part, labor has to choose issues that cast the widest net possible. He sees it as a step in the right direction that Sweeney emphasized the minimum-wage bill—which, he says, "just struck people as fair"—rather than, say, the union's more narrowly focused striker-replacement measure.

Sounds sensible; yet all the above assumes that common cause between labor and the academy has not existed at all in recent years. Rachleff and others protest that this is simply not the case. In the Twin Cities, Rachleff helped organize the Meeting the Challenge Committee, which was launched five years ago. He works with representatives of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, the United Auto Workers' New Directions movement, and assorted labor intellectuals to support union democracy and to fight what these groups and individuals see as self-defeating labor/management cooperation. At the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, labor historian Harvey Kaye and several colleagues have worked with local AFL-CIO leaders to found the Wisconsin Labor History Society, which promotes labor education in schools and helped refurbish Union Square in Milwaukee. "For a hell of a long time," Kaye says, "a lot of us have been working with state federations of labor on organizing, consciousness-raising, that sort of thing."

Indeed, Rachleff is not so high on the Columbia event at all. He worries that there is little room in such high-minded enterprises for labor historians such as himself, who work the trenches with locals and aren't big fans of Sweeney's because he hasn't pushed union democracy or taken a particularly strong stand against labor/management cooperation.

All of Rachleff's doubts raise a question: Why should academics give their allegiance to an AFL-CIO hierarchy that may still be in need of considerable reform? Then again, one could as easily ask the question the other way: Why should busy labor officials devote their time to mollifying a bunch of isolated purists who don't have to do the hard work of organizing, negotiating contracts, and settling for what you can realistically expect from Washington or the state capitals? As Mort puts it, "It's not good enough to be right. You have to build a movement."

IF ACADEMICS DO develop a stronger class awareness, it will have to be said that their administrators helped make it possible. Six weeks after the Columbia event, Andrew Ross and Robin Kelley helped a group of their NYU graduate students organize a daylong event, "Between Classes: A Conference on Academic Labor." The meeting explored how attacks on tenure and affirmative action—as well as the increasing use of adjunct and other part-time professors—were changing the nature

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Troubled by the lack of knowledge of and interest in the continuing struggle for racial justice, the editors determined that many people now lack a proper context for understanding the current state of race relations. Their attempts to rekindle interest in the goals of the civil rights movement led them to approach a distinguished group of scholars. Armed with the belief that human interest generated by autobiography would be the most effective route to their goal, they asked these scholars to reflect upon their careers and how personal experiences have influenced their scholarship. Responding to this invitation were Dan T. Carter, Eric Foner, Darlene Clark Hine, Jacqueline Jones, David Levering Lewis, Leon F. Litwack, Mark D. Naison, and George B. Tindall.

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of academic work itself. To Ross, the NYU conference sits apart from the Columbia event. "I think there is a movement that is quite explicitly about academic labor," he says, defining the problem as "a rising cumulative concern and anxiety about labor conditions on campuses for at least a decade."

Any academic knows the angst all too well, but consider some numbers. Twenty years ago, says Ernst Benjamin, associate general secretary for the American Association of University Professors, about 25 percent of all faculty nationwide were part-time. Ten years ago, that was up to one-third. In 1993, the last year for which he's seen figures, the number was officially 42 percent, but Benjamin thinks it's really closer to 45 percent or perhaps more. Only 25 percent of the nation's 1.1 million faculty, instructors, and other researchers have tenure, and just another 10 percent are on a tenure track. And, of course, there are the drastic budget cuts, notably in New York's SUNY and CUNY systems but elsewhere as well, that have increased class sizes and teaching loads. To many faculty, these cuts represent a threat both to their livelihoods and to the quality of education they can provide.

The result, as CUNY's Juan Flores pointed out at the NYU conference, is "a planned, orchestrated dysfunctionality" that changes the nature of academic work. "There reigns this feeling of insecurity and distrust among the staff, and backbiting," he noted.

The situation at Minnesota, where the board of regents tried to implement tenure review and recently offered a compromise plan limiting the proposal to law faculty for the time being, is only the most well-known of several battles under way. There are the graduate assistants on the three largest campuses of the University of California system who walked off the job the week after the NYU conference, demanding that the system recognize their right to unionize. Faculty in the University of Texas system tried but ultimately failed to beat back a plan to intensify the school's tenure-review system. A group of tenured medical professors at the University of Southern California recently filed suit against a university compensation proposal that threatens to slash their salaries.

THE USE OF PART-TIME FACULTY HAS NEARLY DOUBLED IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS.

All this has led, unsurprisingly, to a recognition among all levels of faculty that a little solidarity might be in order. More than half the full-time professors at Minnesota signed union cards in a recent organizing drive—leading directly to the regents' proffered compromise, which Benjamin notes was "designed to take the steam out of collective bargaining." Faculty at the Carbondale campus of the University of Southern Illinois voted recently to unionize, as did faculty at the University of Alaska.

It's a little-known fact that even as organized labor has shed vast numbers of members in the last two decades, its presence has grown dramatically on campuses. This growth represents, Aronowitz says, "the biggest gains in unionism since 1970." Today, about 40 percent of all faculty in public colleges and universities are unionized. But the progress has remained piecemeal. The biggest victories have come at the community-college level and within some state systems (the California State system is unionized, as are SUNY, CUNY, and the Washington and Oregon systems). But major swaths are not organized at all: the Big Ten schools, the senior campuses of the U. Cal system, virtually the entire South, and, of course, most private universities, which were insulated by the Supreme Court's 1980 *Yeshiva* decision, which held that faculty at New York City's Yeshiva University were "managers" (of students, of graduate assistants) and thus could not unionize.

There's no secret answer here—only time and plain old-fashioned organizing will turn things around. Meanwhile, argues Ross, faculty can make moves to build at least some awareness. At NYU, for example, clerical workers are bargaining with the university administration over the open-shop conditions under which they work. When a clerical worker is hired, says organizer Trudy Rudnick, the university tells the new employee that he or she does not have to join the union, which doesn't even get the new hire's name until six weeks later. Rudnick was one of the speakers at the NYU conference. Next spring, Ross is publishing (with Verso) a book he as edited on sweatshops called *No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade, and the Rights of Garment Workers.* Perhaps eager to put the mysteries of postmodern physics behind them, Ross and the editors of *Social Text* are also devoting the next issue of their journal to the recent strikes at Yale and elsewhere, and two subsequent issues "to national and international aspects of academic labor."

IT'S TOO EARLY yet to argue that something coherent and lasting can emerge from this activity. Fraser and Lichtenstein, post-Columbia, acknowledge that they're not exactly sure what the next step should be, but they do have some ideas. A new magazine devoted to workplace issues, to be called *Working USA*, will be a joint labor-academic project and will be run out of the UAW's Washington office. There will be another high-profile teach-in at UCLA in February and perhaps more regional conferences. It's the larger and more durable projects that are somewhat vague at this point. "What we're talking about," Fraser says, "is maybe trying to create some more permanent organization that would include academics, artists, writers, and others who would have some enduring relationship with the labor movement." Lichtenstein wants to

JENNY SCHMID

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take a page out of the right's playbook. "You have the foundations funding Charles Murray and all kinds of things like that," he says. "We need an equivalent."

Although John Sweeney may not be perfect, they say, at least he's making overtures. (In December, he was even arrested at Yale during a clerical and maintenance workers' labor action.) And academics, no higher on the path to perfection themselves, are responding. Even if a coherent movement is many more years in the making, at least conversation has begun about the disagreements that for years have divided two of the left's most significant constituencies. It's enough to make one think that maybe the great pendulum of history—wasn't it supposed to swing back to the left in the Nineties?—may finally start to move a bit.

Michael Tomasky is a columnist for *New York* magazine and the author of *Left for Dead: The Life, Death, and Possible Resurrection of Progressive Politics in America* (Free Press, 1996).

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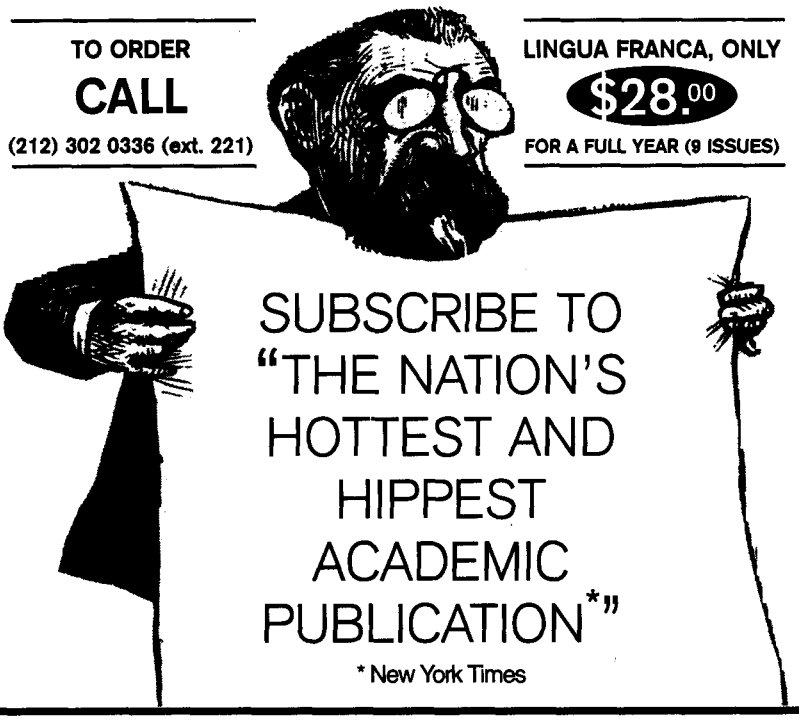

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BROWNING'S VERSION

DANIEL GOLDHAGEN (LEFT) AND CHRISTOPHER BROWNING (RIGHT) AT THE HOLOCAUST MUSEUM SYMPOSIUM IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

A MILD-MANNERED HISTORIAN'S QUEST TO UNDERSTAND THE PERPETRATORS OF THE HOLOCAUST

C-SPAN

BY **ADAM SHATZ**

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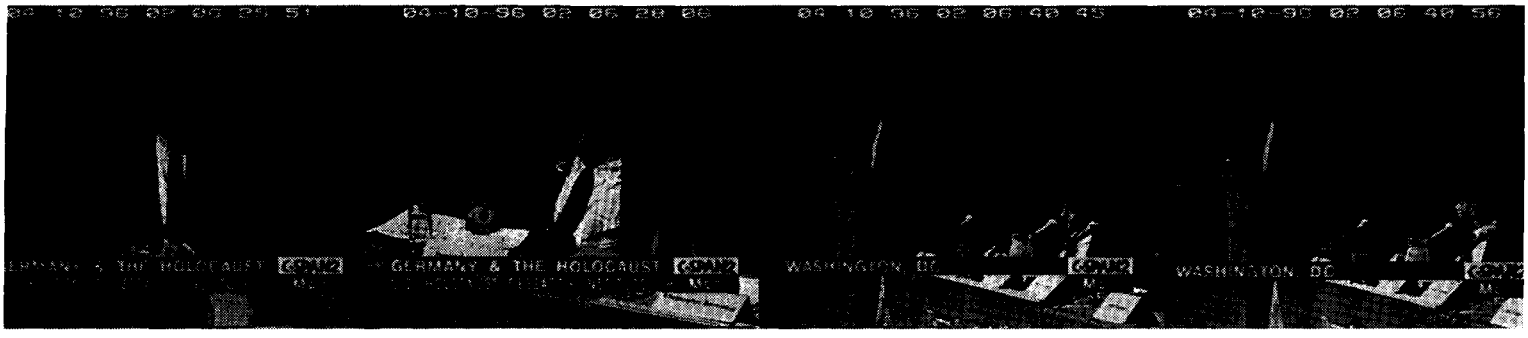
IT WAS A TENSE, POLARIZED gathering. Early last April, more than 450 people packed into the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., for a forum on Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's recent book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust.* For nearly an hour, Goldhagen, an assistant professor of government at Harvard, held forth, defending his thesis that ordinary Germans willingly and enthusiastically killed Jews. Not long after he returned to his seat, the assembled scholars responded with caustic critiques of his views on German history, his failure to study the Holocaust comparatively, and his sheer hubris in volunteering a grand theory of the event. Before long, it seemed the peer review had turned into a hazing.



If anyone could restore order to the meeting, it was a quiet, mild-mannered man named Christopher Browning. Unlike the other scholars on the panel, Browning was on intimate terms with Goldhagen's book, which abrasively reexamines his own research. Stepping up to the podium, Browning acknowledged that he had always expected future scholars to question his work. But this was something else. "Little did I imagine that an alternative history would come so quickly or so starkly in the form of Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners.*"

A PROFESSOR of history at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington and a 1996 resident scholar at the Holocaust Museum, Browning rarely does anything starkly. He is an unassuming man, even to the point of enigma. He is neither Jewish nor German, and his relation to the Holocaust could strike the casual reader as remarkably detached. Unlike his adversary Goldhagen, he writes in a reserved style. Also unlike Goldhagen, he seldom veers from strictly empirical attempts to set the record straight about the twists and turns of the Nazi's Jewish policy in the years leading up to the Final Solution.

Yet for all the circumspection of his work, Browning has become the most widely hailed American scholar of the Final Solution. In a review of a 1992 collection of essays by Browning, *The Path to Genocide* (Cambridge), Omer Bartov, a Rutgers historian, expressed the scholarly consensus, imploring "[t]hose who wish to 'get the facts right' and escape from the rhetoric, simplifications, exaggerations, and sheer inaccuracies of lesser scholars and popular writers...to turn to Christopher Browning." The Yad Vashem Center in Jerusalem thought highly enough of Browning to commission him to write its official history of the wartime unfolding of Nazi Jewish policy. That work is now 600 pages long and getting bigger by the day. UCLA's Saul Friedlander, who is full of praise for Browning's "extraordinary precision and meticulousness," thinks the book "will be difficult to improve upon."

Why, then, has Daniel Goldhagen seen fit to wage a side war against Browning in the endnotes to *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (Knopf, 1996)? The immediate reason is Browning's study *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (HarperCollins, 1992), a terrifying account of the very same Hamburg police battalion that Goldhagen focuses on in his book. In 1941 and 1942, the battalion's 500 members killed or deported over 80,000 Polish Jews. Browning portrays the men's choice to kill—though the unit had to do its job, individuals were permitted to abstain—as the path of least resistance. The policemen were inspired, he argues, by a banal peer-group conformism that was magnified by war and ultimately by involvement in massacres: As they plunged into the darkness of their tasks, they grew inured. Browning's is a cautionary fable about what "ordinary men" can do when they are mobilized by a regime bent on mass murder.

There's no dispute between Browning and Goldhagen about the crimes of the police battalion. Both argue that not enough attention has been paid to the ordinary perpetrators of genocide and that the circle of responsibility extends far beyond the S.S. and Hitler's fervent supporters. Yet for all their common ground, their explanations of the choice to kill are sharply opposed, and the two have traded blows repeatedly, almost like two prosecutors who violently disagree on the motives of a defendant. In about two dozen endnotes, Goldhagen accuses Browning of sanitizing the atrocities of Reserve Police Battalion 101. In particular, he faults Browning for downplaying the significance of the killers' cultural and ideological background: The policemen, Goldhagen avers, were responding to their circumstances not as ordinary men but as ordinary Germans, carriers of a deeply embedded anti-Semitic "cognitive model." The men killed because, like most Germans, they believed fundamentally in the justice of exterminating Jews.

Nonsense, replied Browning at the D.C. debate. If the policemen thirsted

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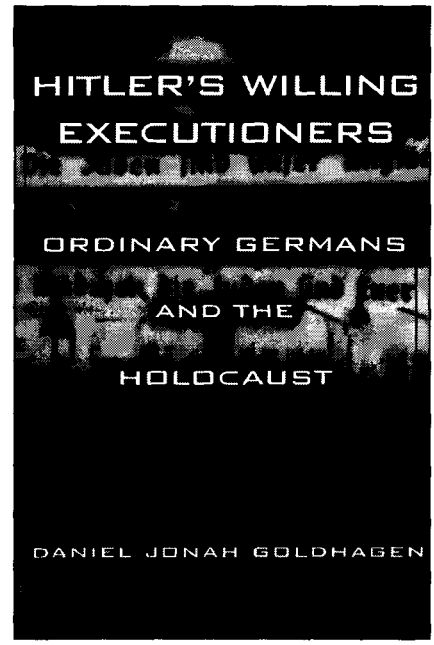
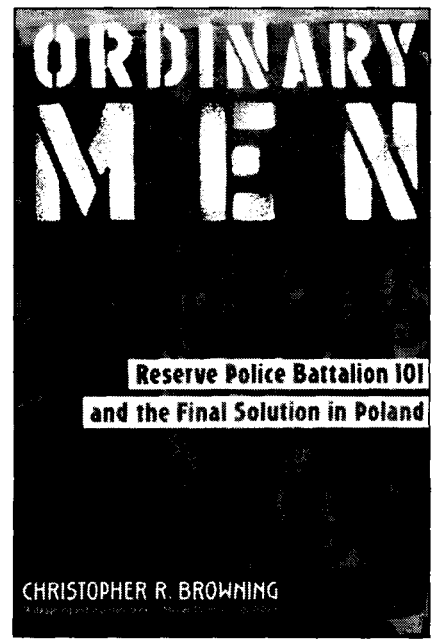
for Jewish blood, how do you explain the letter of the survivor who wrote to Browning that, while shining the boots of German reservists in Poland, "I came across men who in my opinion could not hurt a fly"? The causes of the Holocaust, argues Browning, cannot be derived from the Weltanschauung of the executioners.

There is a volatile subtext to the Browning–Goldhagen debate. In a sense, it is the latest reenactment of an old argument between those who see the Holocaust as a crime against the Jewish people and those who see it as a crime against humanity. Goldhagen's critique of Browning is reminiscent of the traditional religious—and Zionist—interpretation which, according to Hannah Arendt, regarded "Auschwitz...as not much more than the most horrible pogrom in Jewish history." Arendt famously contrasted this view with her own conviction that "only the choice of victims, not the nature of the crime, could be derived from the long history of Jew-hatred and anti-Semitism." For Arendt, genocide—the concerted mobilization by a modern state of people and resources for the physical extermination of a minority—was a violation of a wholly different order from persecution. These days, it seems clear that Arendt overdrew the dichotomy: The Holocaust was both a German crime against the Jews *and* a modern crime against humanity. Nevertheless, one's view of the perpetrators' motivations follows in some part from where one stands along the Arendtian spectrum.

Goldhagen thinks that Hitler and the Nazis succeeded in their goals by unleashing popular anti-Semitism, festering since the days of Martin Luther. By focusing on the modern, bureaucratic nature of the destruction process, writes Goldhagen, scholars like Browning have obscured the obvious explanation: the perpetrators' anti-Semitism. "Not economic hardship, not the coercive means of a totalitarian state, not social psychological pressure, not invariable psychological propensities, but ideas about Jews that were pervasive in Germany, and had been for decades, induced ordinary Germans to kill unarmed, defenseless



GOLDHAGEN FAULTS BROWNING FOR DOWNPLAYING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE KILLERS' CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND IDEOLOGICAL ZEAL.



Jewish men, women, and children by the thousands, systematically and without pity."

Historians of the Final Solution have reacted skeptically to Goldhagen's major claims. Yet it is not difficult to understand why he has struck such a chord with readers in America and abroad. Whether as a result of ethical humility or academic timidity, Holocaust historians have largely shied away from the "unanswerable question" of why it happened. And they have also preferred to write about horrific events in a detached, passionless voice. As Omer Bartov remarks, they often reproduce the very clinical tone of the Nazi documents they study. Moreover, their elaborately qualified theories are often difficult to explain to a non-scholarly audience. Browning admits as much. "When Goldhagen implies that I and scholars like myself have a patchwork explanation of the Holocaust he's right. We explain Hitler and hardcore Nazis in one way, bureaucrats in another, and policemen in still another. They were doing different things, their modes of participation were different. I don't have a theory that brings it all together in that moment of clarity. Goldhagen claims to, but he ends up wiping out all the differentiation." For Browning, differentiation and complexity are what Holocaust history is all about.

Yet when you read Browning closely, you find not only an attention to complexity, but a set of quite specific questions and hunches that have shaped his work in subtle but unmistakable ways. There is an ethics, even a kind of all-encompassing outrage, to his empiricism. Inquiring into how the Nazi regime carried out the Holocaust, Browning has laid stress on the modern state's destructive but otherwise mundane technologies and capacities, and the tragic conformism of the average citizen. Governments, he observes, have "an extraordinary capacity to set off extraordinary kinds of violence without resorting to ethnic hatred"—as, for instance, in China's Cultural Revolution and in Cambodia. Although anti-Semitism explains why

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Jews were singled out by the Nazis, it fails to explain the nature of the crime against them, or why so many Germans who were not hard-core supporters of the regime went along with its policies. According to Browning, the post–Cold War era has provided fresh evidence, in Bosnia and Rwanda, that "when governments whip up hatreds and authorize mass murders, almost invariably they're carried out."

AS A graduate student in French history at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, in the late Sixties, Browning didn't have to roam far to reach this insight, with American soldiers waging a brutal war in Vietnam. Browning was among the millions of Americans who lost their innocence about American virtue during those years. Strange as it sounds, if this hadn't occurred Browning may very well have ended up in French history.

Born in 1944, Browning grew up in Chicago. His mother worked as a school nurse, his father as a philosophy professor at Northwestern who specialized in ethics, and they raised him to be a conscientious liberal. By the standards of late-Sixties Madison, a Mecca of radical activism, that made Browning something of a moderate. But like many liberal-minded, middle-class Americans, he was appalled by what the United States was doing in Vietnam and at a loss to understand, as he puts it, "how good and ordinary people get involved in terrible policies. What was the demon behind all of this?"

In search of an answer, Browning turned to *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Hannah Arendt's controversial 1963 essay on the "banality of evil," which called attention to the way mass killing became a sanitized public policy carried out by otherwise unexceptional bureaucrats. Browning recognized that America's evil was of a different order, and he has never likened it to the Holocaust. But there was an eerie banality to the proud announcements of North Vietnamese "body counts" by U.S. officials, and the use of such euphemisms as "rural pacification" to describe massive relocations of

BROWNING'S BOOK IS A CAUTIONARY FABLE ABOUT WHAT "ORDINARY MEN" CAN DO WHEN THEY ARE MOBILIZED BY A REGIME BENT ON MASS MURDER.

Vietnamese peasants. Shortly after reading Arendt, while bed-ridden with a case of mononucleosis, Browning devoured Raul Hilberg's study, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (which Arendt repeatedly cited), and was bowled over. "The book quite simply changed my life," he says. "It was as close to a conversion experience as an academic is likely to have."

Published in 1961 and still the most comprehensive treatment of the subject, Hilberg's book established a paradigm not only for researching, but for writing the history of the Final Solution. Hilberg characterized the Holocaust as a bureaucratic-administrative "destruction process." At its heart stood the death camp, which fused the gas chamber and the labor camp into an efficient, industrial system of killing. Relying on the perpetrators' own reports, Hilberg unswervingly tracked the activities of the bureaucrats who presided over, coordinated, and in some cases initiated the operation. Like Arendt, Hilberg detected something drab and all-too-human about the Holocaust. "It may be possible," he wrote, "to view the entire design as a mosaic of small pieces, each commonplace and lusterless by itself. Yet this progression of everyday activities, these file notes, memoranda, and telegrams, embedded in habit, routine, and tradition, were fashioned into a massive destruction process."

After finishing *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Browning approached his adviser, Robert Koehl, himself a specialist on the S.S., with a proposal to switch to German history

THE EMPTY CHAIR

Every historian of the Holocaust needs to be "both a scholar and an artist," says French historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet, author of *The Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*. Yet the effort to fill a new position in Holocaust studies at Harvard seems more like academic business-as-usual, rife with rumors of intrigue and contention. It doesn't simplify matters any that two of the leading candidates, Christopher Browning and Daniel Goldhagen, have frequently, and publicly, challenged the merits of each other's work.

The endowed chair is a gift from philanthropist Kenneth Lipper, an ex-deputy mayor of New York City in the Koch administration. Named the Helen Zelaznik Chair in Holocaust and Cognate Studies, after a member of Mr. Lipper's wife's family who perished in the death camps, the chair was the result of discussions between Harvard and Lipper that began in 1993. Lipper's $3 million donation for the position came as part of a larger gift that included $1 million to fund a Kennedy School of Government program offering technical assistance to the nascent Palestinian Authority.

So, who is qualified for the job in Holocaust Studies? In December 1995, an advertisement appeared in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* calling for "a distinguished scholar... in modern European and/or modern Jewish history" who has made "an important contribution to the history of the Holocaust." As for the second part of the title—"Cognate Studies"—the implications are less clear. Charles

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and to write a dissertation on the German Foreign Office bureaucrats who oversaw Jewish policy in the lands conquered through *Lebensraum*, Hitler's expansionist drive on the eastern front. Browning recalls: "Koehl said, 'that's a fine dissertation topic but you should be aware that there's no professional future in it,' which in 1970 was perfectly accurate advice. Still, he encouraged me."

During Browning's first scholarly visit to Germany, the Watergate scandal broke out. Watergate invariably comes up when you ask Browning why he studies the Final Solution. If reading Hilberg during the Vietnam War stirred his interest in the destruction process, Watergate reinforced his intuitions about the prosaic way in which criminality turns into a bureaucratic habit. He recalls: "Here you had this collection of 'team players' at the lower echelons of the bureaucracy, these University of Southern California law graduates who went off to Washington to make a career, and above them you had the political hatchet men. They didn't need explicit orders, they just needed hints, since they basically knew what was expected of them. Nixon didn't have to say, 'Go do this,' because these people were stumbling all over each other in competition to carry out dirty tricks." When Browning looked at the Foreign Office, he found that "intense internal political rivalry," rather than monolithic totalitarianism, propelled the search for a "solution" to the "Jewish problem." The Final Solution was caused, in other words, by a lethal marriage between a regime determined to eliminate the Jews from Europe and self-aggrandizing bureaucrats who craved, and competed for, the approval of their superiors. Extraordinary circumstances, ordinary men. "The dynamics of the Foreign Office's involvement in Jewish policy," he says, "were not so different from the Watergate team players."

Yet there *was* something extraordinary about National Socialism, from its origins in a cataclysmic depression to its sudden seizure of power, from its ideological symbiosis of racism and eugenics to its attempt to reorder Europe along social Darwinist lines. Shouldn't its politics—in particular, the steps toward the Final Solution—reflect this exceptionalism? Browning did grant that the Nazi regime arose in "extraordinary circumstances" and espoused an uncommonly virulent form of "biological racism," which finally became the "'fixed point' of the system." But he remained convinced that the petty and universal reflexes of career bureaucrats—conformism and competitiveness—better explained their behavior than any preexisting anti-Semitism. They were brown-nosers rather than Brownshirts. And it was this conclusion that he presented in his dissertation, which was published in 1978 as *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office* (Holmes & Meier). Even Browning's admirers think this focus on bureaucratic infighting exaggerates the banality of the decision-making process. Bartov, for instance, says Browning's work leaves him "feeling that I know more but that I don't understand more. There's something about the Holocaust that makes you either escape into generalities or escape into details. Browning tends to do the latter." According to Saul Friedlander, Browning "sometimes fails to see the bigger picture, the political and ideological field in which the Holocaust takes place." In Friedlander's view, this is a limitation Browning inherited from Hilberg.

Friedlander is only half right. For to read Browning against Hilberg is also to get a sense of where the disciple departs from the mentor. Browning took Hilberg's analysis of the bureaucracy and extended it, while dispensing with Hilberg's assumptions about the national character and long-term intentions of the Germans. In his first book, Browning adopted instead Karl Schleunes's notion of a "twisted road" to Auschwitz, arising out of the Nazis' stillborn attempts to deport the Jews, first to the Lublin reservation, then to Madagascar. The Final Solution, writes Browning, "evolved from a conjuncture of several factors of which Hitler's anti-Semitism was only one." The Nazis arrived at the Final Solution not because it was the only solution they envisaged, but because in the midst of total war it was deemed the only "practical" way to remove the Jews from the occupied lands. The decision to exterminate the Jews arose, incrementally, from the murderous pragmatism of the decision-making process.

IN THE late Seventies, this interpretation placed Browning in the ranks of an emerging group of scholars, especially prominent in Germany and England, who regarded the Final Solution as a grassroots, almost improvised policy, born of the "cumulative radicalization" of the Nazi regime. An influential British historian, the late Tim Mason, described these young historians as "functionalists," and their opponents, who posited a preordained plan conceived by Hitler as early as the late 1910s and swiftly executed when the time was right, as "intentionalists." The terms stuck.

WHEN IT COMES TO ACADEMIC POLITICS, BROWNING REMAINS SOMETHING OF AN ODD MAN OUT IN AMERICAN HOLOCAUST STUDIES.

PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY

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WATERGATE REINFORCED BROWNING'S INTUITIONS ABOUT THE PROSAIC WAY IN WHICH CRIMINALITY TURNS INTO A BUREAUCRATIC HABIT.

The intentionalism/functionalism controversy held the collective imagination of historians of the Final Solution right through the Eighties, partly because it was tied to a bundle of emotional questions about how to assess the motivations and accountability of Hitler and the Nazis. For the intentionalists, the functionalist position downplayed the consistently barbarous intent of Hitler and the Nazis towards the Jews, while evoking a massive system in which, ultimately, no one was to blame. In response, the functionalists noted that there was no evidence of Hitler ever having issued explicit orders to murder all Jews—which raises the question of how his subordinates came to read his wishes with such bloody literalness. And, as Mason observed, it seemed to escape some of the intentionalists that "it is logically and morally possible to hold a system responsible for terrible crimes, as well as those persons who exercised power within the system."

The relationship between the two groups of historians was not friendly. One intentionalist scholar tried to sabotage the publication of Browning's first book by writing a scathing, four-page, single-spaced reader's report for a potential publisher to the effect that Browning's work made no contribution, however minor, to scholarship. (The book was eventually published by another house.) Browning reflects, "My career emerged very much amid the conflict between the Hilberg approach to the Holocaust as a bureaucratic-administrative process, on the one hand, and the view of the Holocaust as ideological crusade, on the other."

In fact, Browning turned out to be anything but a functionalist hard-liner. His rise to prominence in international debates about the Holocaust dates back to his seminal 1981 critique of Martin Broszat's functionalist argument that local authorities in the ghettos initiated the massacres that gradually led to the Final Solution, without the intervention of Hitler and the upper echelons of the regime. Browning's research persuaded him that neither pure functionalism nor intentionalism was tenable. Through careful study of Nazi ghetto and public-health policies, Browning arrived at a "moderate functionalism." Despite the initiatives of local Nazi technocrats, argued Browning, the Final Solution demanded coordination from above—ultimately on the part of Hitler and Heinrich Himmler—for the death-camp system to be erected. And it was wrong to say that the Nazis were simply "pragmatic," since they were not deterred from pursuing the Final Solution even when it conflicted with their larger war aims; something else must have been at work besides the calculation of interests. The push towards the Final Solution clearly drew much of its momentum from the regime's irrational racism. Browning is gratified that his work helped dislodge the extremes: "I think I sort of set the terms of the debate, and since then the more radical positions have fallen by the wayside."

SINCE the mid-Eighties, Browning's contributions have brought him many of the trappings of success, from invitations to international conferences to teaching and research fellowships at Northwestern, Wisconsin, the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton and elsewhere. As a scholar-in-residence at the Holocaust Museum, Browning spent most of 1996 combing through microfilms and materials on Nazi policies recently made available by formerly Soviet archives. Nevertheless, in terms of academic politics, he remains something of an odd man out in American Holocaust studies. Although he is a candidate for a newly-created post in Holocaust Maier, a specialist in twentieth-century European history and Chair of the search committee, explained that some candidates might view the Holocaust in the context of other genocides, for example, or of the history of twentieth-century violence.

In any case, the search is beginning to heat up. Dossiers were collected last year, and the active search began this fall with a lecture series in which prospective candidates were invited to campus to speak. Months later, a decision on hiring is still pending. And the committee's task is hardly an easy one. As Michael Marrus, the eminent historian of Vichy who teaches at the University of Toronto, puts it: "It's a high-risk situation, because the history of the Holocaust stirs up more parochialisms and ideological preoccupations than does, say, the history of ancient Rome."

In the question of where to locate such positions institutionally lies an echo of old "intentionalist"/"functionalist" debates, and the false dichotomy that pits the Jews' millennial losses against a peculiarly twentieth century version of inhumanity. Outside Harvard, even among Jewish studies faculty, there is a strong concern that the Holocaust not be considered an exclusively ethnic concern. "The history of Christianity has as much, or more to say about this event as the history of Judaism," chafes Deborah Lipstadt, who holds a Chair in Holocaust studies at Emory. Geoffrey Hartman, a Yale comparative literature professor and the project director of the Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust testimonies, agrees: "This is an event comparable in its impact to the French Revolution. Its relevance will keep developing from generation to generation. It shouldn't be confined to Jewish studies."

So far, the search at Harvard is being conducted by the History

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Studies at Harvard (see sidebar), his current teaching position at Pacific Lutheran is far from the academic mainstream. And in recent years, he has seen his field shift, under the combined influences of identity politics and postmodernism, to the experiences of victims and bystanders and to the event's implications for collective memory, cultural representations, philosophy, and ethics. As Bartov remarks, "In a strange way, Browning is more a part of a German and English milieu—his debates are with scholars like Ian Kershaw and Martin Broszat. There are very few people in America who are doing Browning's kind of careful documentary work, which is really in the Hilberg tradition."

Yet it was just this kind of painstaking work that brought Browning his greatest renown. In the summer of 1987, he made an extraordinary archival discovery. He went to the Central Agency for the State Administrations of Justice in Ludwigsburg, Germany, to burrow through its unusually rich collection of postwar legal records. Among these was the indictment of Reserve Police Battalion 101, a unit of the German "order police." These quasi-military units had been formed by decommissioned World War I officers who had sought a bulwark against communism after the dissolution of the German army. They were pressed into active military duty during World War II. Reserve Battalion 101's members, numbering a little over 500, participated in the shooting of 38,000 Jews and deported 45,000 more to Treblinka between the summer of 1941 and the fall of 1942.

Two years later, in Hamburg, Browning read through the interrogations of 210 members of the battalion in the office of the state prosecutor, which pursued the case against the policemen from 1962 to 1972. Tales from hell, told by the gatekeepers themselves. Yet there was nothing in the men's pasts to predict their behavior—if anything, quite the opposite. They were not the fervent young Nazis of the *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing units sent to the Soviet Union to kill partisans, Jews, and the Russian intelligentsia), but rather men nearing middle age, who had reached maturity before the triumph of Nazism and its political culture. Most came from Hamburg, one of the least Nazified cities in Germany, as well as from the working class, the social stratum most hostile to Nazism. Approximately 80 to 90 percent of the men became professional killers, and a few even began volunteering to embark on "hunts" for Jews in hiding. How to explain this disquieting transformation? The history of the battalion deserved close attention in its own right.

IN *ORDINARY MEN*, BROWNING'S CAPTION FOR THE PHOTO BELOW READS: "LUKÓW, PROBABLY IN THE FALL OF 1942, WHEN THE ORDER POLICE LIQUIDATED THE MAIN GHETTO THERE."

IN *HITLER'S WILLING EXECUTIONERS*, GOLDHAGEN'S CAPTION FOR THE SAME PHOTO READS: "SHORTLY BEFORE DEPORTING THE JEWS OF LUKÓW TO THEIR DEATHS IN TREBLINKA, MEN OF POLICE BATTALION 101 TAKE TIME OUT TO FORCE A GROUP OF JEWS TO POSE FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMENTOS."

JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE, USHMM PHOTO ARCHIVES

JUST AS Browning was leaving the archives, the attorney general gave him reason to suspect that another scholar had drawn a similar conclusion. "'Do you know Daniel Goldhagen?,' he asked me. I had read an article of his, but didn't know much about him. 'Why do you ask?' 'Oh, he's coming this summer.'

"When I gave my first paper on the battalion at a conference in the fall of 1989, this young man came up to me and said, 'Hi, I'm Daniel Goldhagen. You scooped me!' He said he was working on a social-psychological profile of the perpetrators. Otherwise, he was very vague."

In 1992, Browning published *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland.* The title all but gave the book away. Yet again, Browning saw ordinary men at work in Nazi-controlled Europe. Only now they were policemen rather than bureaucrats.

What, then, caused their incredible cruelty? Not the brutalizing context of war: "the men of the battalion had not seen battle or encountered a deadly enemy," Browning wrote. Not coercion: although collective insubordination would have met with punishment and the feared consequences of disobedience cannot be discounted, "in the past forty-five years no defense attorney or defendant in any of the hundreds of postwar trials has been able to document a single case in which refusal to obey an order to kill unarmed civilians

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resulted in the allegedly inevitable dire punishment." Not anti-Semitism: "Influenced and conditioned in a general way, imbued in particular with a sense of their own superiority and racial kinship as well as Jewish inferiority and otherness, many of them undoubtedly were; explicitly prepared for the task of killing Jews they most certainly were not."

Having pared away these explanations, Browning proposed a more disturbing, and universally applicable, theory: The men were driven by a fear of breaking ranks in a time of total mobilization. "It was easier for them to shoot," because refusal was considered an asocial, even unmanly act. With Germany engulfed in a war on two fronts and consumed with all the accompanying passions, Browning wrote, "it was also all too easy to subsume the Jews into 'the image of the enemy.'" Nothing, wrote Browning, "helped the Nazis to wage a race war so much as the war itself." While disappearing into a unit diminished their sense of individual responsibility, it was the war, and the regime's manipulation of wartime anxieties and preexisting anti-Semitism, that allowed the men to see themselves as defending the fatherland. According to Browning, who often speaks in the universals of social psychology, the policemen displayed the same variety of responses that Stanley Milgram discerned in his famous experiments testing people's willingness to inflict fake electric shocks on an actor/victim. As Browning puts it: "What you see initially is a spectrum of responses, from obedience to nominal compliance to identification with the regime to participation out of conviction. But once you comply and begin to kill, action comes to radically shape your belief. You adjust your attitudes to be congruent with the actions you're taking. People learn to become killers, and even to enjoy it."

In other words, according to Browning, the descent of the reserve police battalion into genocide was driven by commonplace motivations. Where the bureaucrats sought to impress their betters, the policemen stomached whatever objections they harbored so as not to stick out from the group, they became killers in the crucible of killing itself. The moral, if there is one, seems to be that people make their own nightmares, but they don't announce their decisions, least of all to themselves, with a big bang. Rather, they assume their genocidal responsibilities in an attempt to adapt to a genocidal situation. With absolute and grim consistency, Browning was applying what he called a "social-situational" analysis to the actual killing fields.

IN A SCATHING review that appeared in *The New Republic*, and later in *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Daniel Goldhagen has tried to refute Browning on several points. According to Goldhagen, Browning presents no direct evidence for the influence of peer pressure on the men's actions, relies on flawed postwar testimony, and terribly understates the gusto with which the policemen carried out their killings. The most vivid and reliable picture of this gusto, argues Goldhagen, lies in survivor testimony—something Browning uses only in re-creating the sequence of events. In response, Browning insists that the extreme brutality of the soldiers is just one part of the picture—and, moreover, not a very unique one: "I don't think we want to get into a competitive discussion of cruelty. To say that an event is unique doesn't require us to say that it was unique in all aspects, from the perpetrators to their motivations and cruelty." As for the memories of survivors, Browning says, "I do use victim testimony to figure out where and when the actions took place, since it usually becomes a blur for the perpetrators. But I don't use it to solve the problem of the perpetrator's mentality. The last person who can differentiate between those members of the battalion who've accepted their job as routine and those who've enjoyed it is the victim."

But does Browning understate the significance of German anti-Semitism? Could the members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 have been trained to kill just anyone, and with the same ferocity they directed against Jews?

Department in [illegible] faculty from Harvard's Center for Jewish Studies and other departments and programs. The committee includes Ruth Wisse (a scholar of Yiddish literature, former director of Jewish studies, and the author of *If I Am Not for Myself: The Liberal Betrayal of the Jews*), as well as representatives from Government, Ukrainian, and Russian studies.

The chosen candidate's departmental affiliation will ultimately depend on his or her area of expertise, though a joint appointment with the Center for Jewish Studies (situated in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations) and History is likely. Browning is an improbable candidate for an appointment in Jewish studies, since his work focuses exclusively on the German perpetrators. (Goldhagen's work also centers on the perpetrators, but unlike Browning he sees their actions as the outcome of several centuries of Christian Europe's persecution of its Jewish population.) "There's a split in the field between people working with the perpetrators and those working with the victims," says Maier. "Historians tend to be strong on the killers and the Germans. Other people are working with the Jewish communities that were destroyed. It's hard to find candidates who are experts in both."

Five speakers (all men) were invited to Harvard this fall. In addition to Browning and Goldhagen, they are Dan Diner, Omer Bartov, and Samuel Kassow. Diner, who holds positions in history at the University of Essen and Tel Aviv University, has published books in Hebrew and German on topics ranging from the memory of National Socialism in Germany, to the European revolutions of 1989, to contemporary Jewish-Arab relations in Israel.

Omer Bartov, a professor of history at Rutgers University, is

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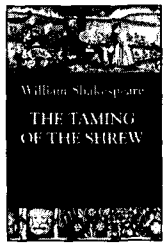

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In *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Goldhagen emphasizes the uniqueness of the men's antipathy toward Jews. On September 25, 1942, a German sergeant was killed in the town of Talcyn by Polish partisans, and in retaliation Major Wilhelm "Papa" Trapp, the commander of Police Battalion 101, was ordered to execute 200 Poles. Having assembled 300 Polish townspeople, Trapp recoiled from the action, killing "only" 78 and meeting his death quota by slaughtering 180 Jews instead. Later, he wept. Compared to the policemen's "obvious distaste and reluctance" toward killing Poles, asserts Goldhagen, their "zealous and dedicated slaughtering of Jews stands in sharp relief."

"But Goldhagen is comparing apples and oranges," Browning fired back during the debate at the Holocaust Museum. "Trapp wept before and while he carried out the initial massacre of Jews at Jozefow [in July 1942] as well." By the fall, Trapp and his men were "acclimated" to the killing of Jews—as they would increasingly become to the killing of Poles after Talcyn. As Browning notes, the policemen's inhibitions about murdering Poles had fallen away by the next time they struck at the Polish population. While on their way to the cinema in January 1943, a group of battalion members heard reports that a German policeman had been assassinated by partisans, and moved into Niezdow to carry out a reprisal. Upon arriving they found that all but the most elderly inhabitants had fled for their lives. The policemen showed no mercy. As Browning put it at the debate: "Even though word came in the middle of the action that the German policeman had only been wounded and not killed, the Germans shot all twelve to fifteen elderly Poles—mostly women—and burned down the village, before returning to the cinema." He went on to ask, "Can we be so sure that these men would not have systematically killed Polish men, women, and children, if that had been the policy of the regime?"

Browning makes a strong case that the men were capable of killing Jews and Poles with comparable zeal. But one might still wonder whether the executioners were "ordinary," and what it means to make this argument.

SINCE Browning never defines "ordinary," and since there is little available evidence about the men's pasts, his readers are left to assume he means "like us." In a recent essay, Bartov remarks that "one would like to know more about the training and education of the Hamburg policemen Browning studied. Were they brought up and molded in the same fashion as, say, New York or London police officers in the 1930s? Or were there...some elements in their environment that made them quite receptive to Nazi policies?"

BROWNING SEES COMPARABLE ELEMENTS IN THE TRAINING OF THE NAZI POLICEMEN AND IN THE TRAINING OF THE AMERICAN G.I.s IN THE PACIFIC WHO SENT THEIR GIRLFRIENDS PHOTOS OF THEMSELVES PROUDLY HOLDING JAPANESE SKULLS.

In Browning's view, one can discern comparable "elements" in the training of the Nazi policemen and in the training of the American killers at My Lai, or of the World War II G.I.s in the Pacific who sent their girlfriends photos of themselves proudly holding Japanese skulls up to the camera. What if the American government had embarked on the extermination of the interned Japanese? "The existence of an open society would have made a difference because there would have been protests," says Browning. "But if the policy had been carried out in secret, and if the government had created the right climate, the policy would not have

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failed for lack of people to pull the triggers." That the men did what was expected of them is, to Browning, less notable than that the orders were given in the first place. "What distinguishes the Holocaust," he says, echoing Hilberg, "is the bureaucratic-administrative mobilization of people to carry out the entire crime, not just a massacre, the conversion of the destruction process into sanitized public policy"—not, in other words, the ordinary people who undertook it.

IN HIS WORK on the police battalion, Browning was walking a tightrope. On the one hand, he emphasized that the men "faced choices" and that "those who killed cannot be absolved by the notion that anyone in the same situation would have done as they did. For even among them, some refused to kill and others stopped killing. Human responsibility is ultimately an individual matter." On the other hand, he implied that when a dictatorial regime issues genocidal orders to men with guns amid total war, they will likely obey.

If this second speculation is right, and there is something in our makeup that makes a potential for genocide our original sin, we could all become mass killers. "If the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 could become killers under such circumstances," he concludes, "what group of men cannot?"

It's a provocative notion, not least because in advancing it Browning appears to display a sensitivity for the predicament of the killers, who never imagined that they would be enlisted to kill thousands of civilians. Since the victims' identities were almost incidental to his account, this gesture was bound to cause discomfort. Peter Novick, a University of Chicago historian who is writing a book on the social and ideological uses of the Holocaust in America, remembers being overwhelmed by Browning's first conference paper on the battalion, but also worrying that it would not go over well. When the historian Yehuda Bauer, who was sitting next to him, commented that Browning's "thick description" of the perpetrators was just the sort that Holocaust history needed, Novick wondered "whether anything that smelled of empathy with the perpetrators would be taboo.because of the moral imperative of writing from the perspective of the victims."

And such "empathy" is, in fact, what Browning explicitly urges upon historians and readers, in a stunning categorical imperative that opens *Ordinary Men*: "The writing of such a history requires the rejection of demonization. The policemen in the battalion who carried out the massacres and deportations, like the much smaller number who refused or evaded, were human beings. I must recognize that in the same situation, I could have been either a killer or an evader—both were human—if I want to understand and explain the behavior of both as best I can. This recognition does indeed mean an attempt to empathize. What I do not accept, however, are the old clichés that to explain is to excuse, to understand is to forgive. Explaining is not excusing; understanding is not forgiving."

Browning's dramatic call for empathy—and humility—reveals a lot about the man. Ultimately, his stance of scholarly detachment is not so detached after all. Contrary to Daniel Goldhagen, Browning's aim is not to lighten the sense of responsibility hanging over the shoulders of modern-day readers. He wants us all to share, or rather to entertain the possibility of sharing, that burden. Whether explaining the actions of the men behind the desks or those of men in the killing fields, Browning has quietly advanced a bold, withering critique of human nature. Would Nixon's team players have acted any differently than the Nazi bureaucrats, or we more honorably than the men in Reserve Police Battalion 101? These are hypotheticals, and Browning doesn't claim to have answers. But he is profoundly pessimistic. In Christopher Browning's view, there is nothing particularly nice about ordinary men.

Adam Shatz is a contributing editor of *Lingua Franca*.

Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich (Oxford, 1991), and more recently, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (Oxford, 1996). In the latter, he examines the phenomenon of "industrial killing" (for him, a defining feature of the Holocaust) as part of the legacy of twentieth century violence initiated by World War I. By including a chapter on war museums and German cinema, he also engages issues of memory and cultural representation that have preoccupied those cultural critics who have turned their attention to the Holocaust, such as James Young and Eric Santner. Last year, he wrote an unfavorable review of Goldhagen's book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, in *The New Republic*.

Among the invited speakers, only Samuel Kassow, a professor of history at Trinity College in Connecticut, is working with the record of destroyed communities. In his recent research, Kassow has focused on Emmanuel Ringelbaum, a historian and intellectual in the Warsaw Ghetto. Within the ghetto's walls, Ringelbaum established an underground archive documenting ghetto life and what he could glean of the extermination process. His aim was to create a usable past for the postwar period; he also hoped that the Allies (and even the German people) might put an end to the killing if they knew the truth about the Nazi occupation.

"Ringelbaum believed in history as praxis, that the work of the historian was itself a means of resistance," Kassow says. As piles of dossiers gather dust in faculty offices while the scholarly credentials of a few invited speakers are reviewed, one might hope that whoever is chosen for the chair at Harvard will share at least some part of Ringelbaum's vision of history.

LESLIE CAMHI

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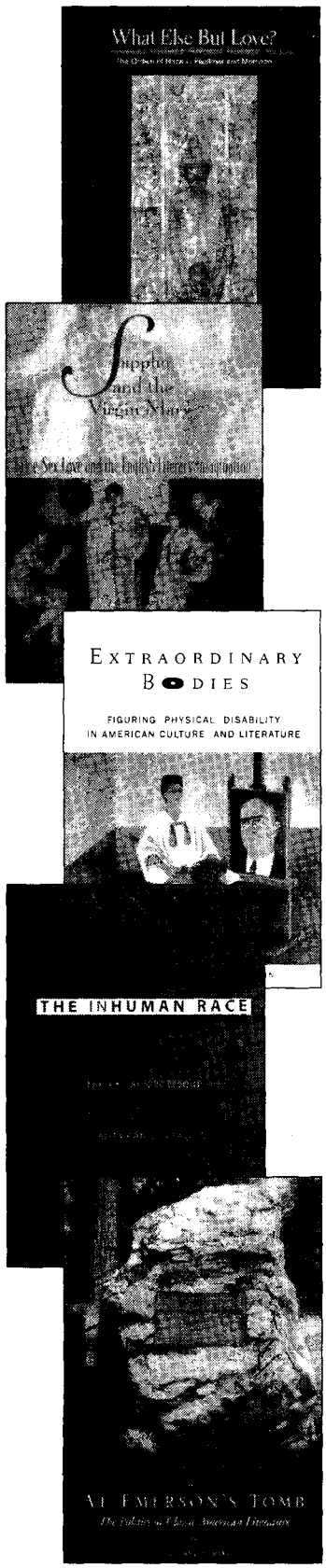
Reading between the lines.



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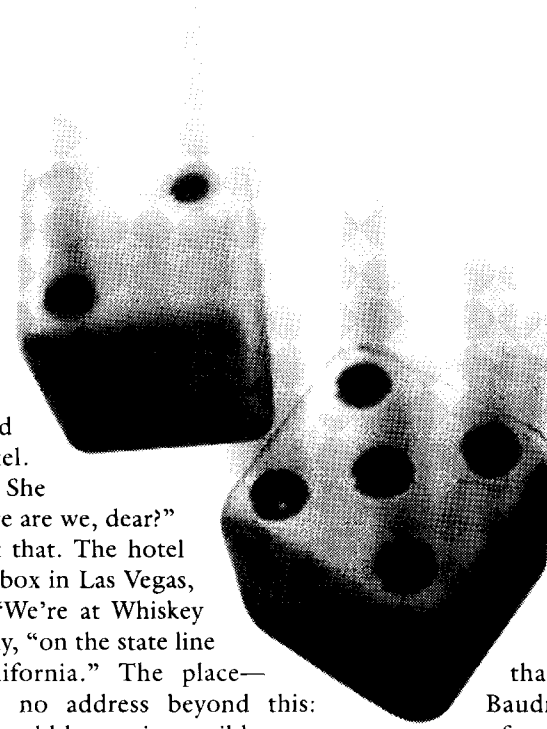
JUST GAMING

THREE DAYS IN THE DESERT WITH JEAN BAUDRILLARD, DJ SPOOKY, AND THE CHANCE BAND



PHOTODISC

IT'S A COOL NEVADA morning, and the woman to my right is talking anxiously into a pay phone in the lobby. "You can send the money to the hotel. The address? I don't know." She turns to me and asks, "Where are we, dear?"

I hadn't thought about that. The hotel stationery lists a post-office box in Las Vegas, thirty miles to the north. "We're at Whiskey Pete's," I tell her, unhelpfully, "on the state line between Nevada and California." The place—all 777 rooms of it—has no address beyond this: Stateline, Nevada. No one would be getting mail here.

Whiskey Pete's is either last-chance or first-chance gambling, depending on which way you're headed on Interstate 15. An elaborate faux-medieval castle with tapered turrets and crenelated ramparts, it commands a vast, dessicated domain whose only landmarks are the highway and two sister casinos plopped down like an architect's model in the middle of a flat, dusty plain. One might say that this is Jean Baudrillard country, the kind of empty landscape that the cryptic French *philosophe* and agent provocateur of theory has called the hyperreal America, a place where the only reality is symbols piled upon symbols. According to Baudrillard, this is America at its most authentic.

And so it is perhaps no surprise that for three days in November, Jean Baudrillard was the main attraction of a conference and lounge-act hosted at Whiskey Pete's titled "Chance: 3 Days in the Desert." Featured along with Jean B.—as he was affectionately referred to that weekend—were DJ Spooky, the 25-year-old pioneer of an experimental dance-music genre known as "illbient," and the Chance Band, a musical collaboration between members of the

BY **DAVID S. BENNAHUM**

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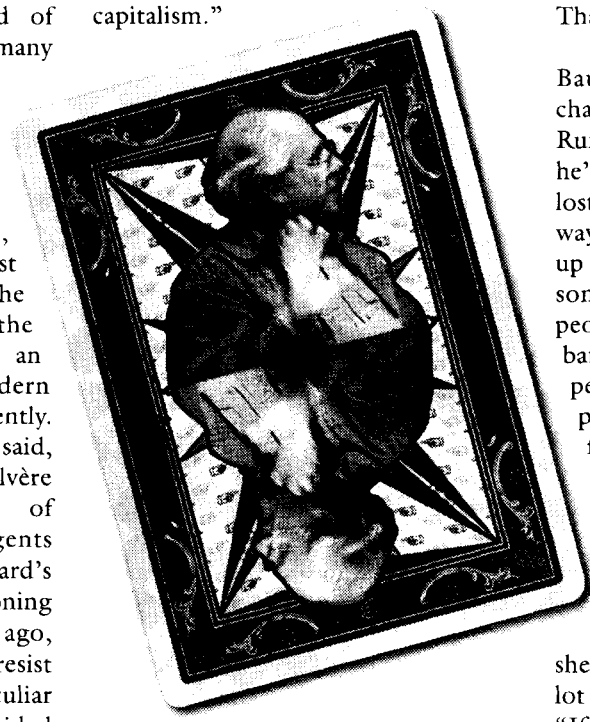
TO THE ASSEMBLED ADMIRERS OF THE ZEITGEIST, THE INTERNET WAS AN UNTAPPED VENUE TEEMING WITH LIBERATORY POSSIBILITIES. WHEN BAUDRILLARD TOOK TO THE STAGE, HE BEGGED TO DIFFER.

aging rock group Red Krayola and the artist Mike Kelley. Along with more than a dozen other acts, they competed for our attention with the $4.95 steak and eggs, the free drinks, and the ring-a-ling of the slot machines.

Organized by the California writer and filmmaker Chris Krause, the Chance conference attracted 500 people, a cross section of poststructuralist grad students, new-media utopians, L.A.-based artists, rave-scene aficionados, and jet-lagged Europeans, all here under Baudrillard's imprimatur to explore cybernetic theories of empowerment, the lure of Vegas, and the catchall metaphor of chance.

By now, Baudrillard's status in this country is something of a paradox. In a series of hermetic books and essays, he has subjected the United States to a kind of giddy scrutiny, cataloging its many pleasures—daunting consumer choice, individual liberty, and constant gratification—while exposing the price they exact: superficiality, conformism, and malaise. While his own people, the French, spurn him as a nihilist reactionary, here, perversely, he is considered by many in the art world and academia to be an incarnation of the postmodern culture he regards so ambivalently. Much of that fame, it must be said, is due to Krause's husband, Sylvère Lotringer who, as editor of Semiotext(e)'s Foreign Agents series, first published Baudrillard's work in English. While vacationing in the Nevada desert a year ago, Lotringer and Krause couldn't resist thinking about Baudrillard's peculiar fascination with Vegas and decided to build a conference around him in the desert. Baudrillard, who thrives on paradox and is clearly not unmoved by the adulation he receives in this country, agreed to participate. The Chance conference was born.

BUT WHAT was it? "Chance and destiny are just a reason to talk to one another," Chris Krause tells me on Friday afternoon, an hour before the conference is scheduled to begin. We are seated at one of the bars scattered throughout the casino watching DJ Spooky, slouched happily between us, slurp down two double-scotches in rapid succession. Krause edits Semiotext(e)'s Native Agents series, which publishes American writers. ("I do fiction," she told me later, "American girls. He does theory," she added, referring to Lotringer, "European boys.") She also teaches writing at Pasadena's Art Center College of Design, which co-sponsored the event. Krause views the conference as a kind of performance-art piece. "Chance is plotting a pattern," she says. "Chance is a factor of capitalism."



JEAN B., KING OF CHANCE

She thinks some more. "Chance is an intuitive tapping into destiny." She's wearing stretch tights with black and white horizontal stripes. Spooky is in black and white, too. It's the defining characteristic of the Chance attendees, monochrome natural fibers. I ask Spooky what he thinks "chance" means. "Noise blends use chance elements," he says.

Spooky is not particularly sober. It's nearly three o'clock in the afternoon, and his performance is about to begin upstairs in a big lounge with neo-saloon decor, a trompe l'oeil Wild West wrap-around balcony, and a full-time Filipino bartender wearing a bolo tie. I'm intent on getting a seat at one of the prime booths beneath the pseudo-balcony before the attendees stampede the room to hear Spooky—on loan from his nationwide tour with Soundlab, a loose commune of digitally inclined, improvisational musicians—give the keynote address. It's billed as "Sampling with DJ Spooky a.k.a. That Subliminal Kid."

Upstairs the buzz is all about Baudrillard, as people mill about chatting and wondering where he is. Rumor has it that he's late, he's early, he's here, he's not here, that he got lost with Lotringer in the car on their way from the airport. As Spooky sets up his deck—several turntables and sonic samplers—more and more people file in, gravitating toward the bar at the other end of the room, perusing the mini-souk of postleft, post-postmodern books hauled up from Los Angeles by the enterprising owner of The Outsider Bookstore (including *The Rise of Neo-Biological Civilization* and *Che Guevara Speaks*). When I ask Krause whether I will be able to interview Baudrillard, she glares at me. "This conference is a lot more than Baudrillard," she says. "If you came all the way out here just to write about him and no one else, you made a mistake." I stand very still and keep smiling. "He's very busy. He may not be able to talk to anyone. He's tired. He had a long trip. And anyway, we have other people here."

REYNALDO RIVERA

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Back in my booth, surrounded by a gaggle of confused journalists and aspiring documentary filmmakers, I dig out the program. Chance, it seems, is one big tent. Diane DiPrima, the beatnik poet, will be reading her work. Shirley Tse, a Hong Kong artist, will riff on the "plastic generation," a population of individuals for whom there is no distinction between the natural and artificial. Sheppard Powell, co-founder of the San Francisco Institute for Magickal and Healing Arts, will "throw the I-Ching." Douglas Hepworth, a Wall Street trader, will discuss chaos theory and "financial collapse." Then there's the headline act, "Chance—a conversation," by Jean Baudrillard, scheduled for the next day.

While not all of the speakers invoked the Internet, many of them did, and it soon became clear that cyberculture was the conference's powerful subtext. At a moment when the postmodern is passé and post-postmodern won't do as a defining phrase, cyberspace appears to offer a way out of the impasse. To the assembled admirers of the Zeitgeist, the Internet was an untapped venue teeming with liberatory possibilities—such as assuming different on-line genders to suit your mood.

But Baudrillard's characteristic melancholy was missing, along with the man himself. Instead, a haze of contentment hung over the beginning of the conference. As DJ Spooky's sixty minutes of sampling drifted off to an arbitrary close, the audience drifted to the bar to refuel, and Marcella Greening—a lecturer in chaos theory and literature at USC—took the stage, presenting a mystical vision of chaos theory camouflaged in academic language. As Greening put it, "Chaos theory appears to be random at our level, as observers. But there is a hidden order, which can only be perceived from a higher level." Chaos theory, according to Greening, shows that the world is an interconnected system of meaningful patterns, but these patterns are impossible to predict because we can never attain the higher level of perception necessary. In this view, science is futile, a vain attempt to force the world into an artificial box of predictability. Meaningful patterns exist, Greening says, because "we are pattern-recognition machines, we are the feedback loops. What we call reality is simply the patterns we choose to recognize. This becomes reality." Substitute "language" for "patterns" and you might arrive at an approximation of French poststructuralism. But Greening adds an uplifting New Age message. The universe may be running according to plan, she says, but we'll never know how it works and shouldn't even bother trying to find out. Instead, we should just mellow out, follow the "patterns," and groove with the collective spirituality in all things.

CHANCE CONFERENCE CATALOG

SUCH spiritual complacency is hardly the style of Sandy Stone. A professor of performance theory and communications at the University of Texas at Austin, Stone is the author of the highly praised *War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age* (MIT, 1994), and she's billed as the co-headline act along with Baudrillard. Stone, née Zelig Ben-Nausaan Cohen, was formerly a male computer geek who supposedly worked as a recording engineer for Jimi Hendrix and used to wear a long black cape and full beard. Now Stone has a husband, a daughter, and a reputation for delivering "performances" about how you can become any of a myriad of genders on-line. This fact, she claims, marks the arrival of a "transgendered world," a place where we no longer define ourselves by our physical bodies but by the virtual representations we choose to create on-line. According to Stone, multiple personalities will soon no longer be a symptom of madness but a conventional way of living.

In a riotous performance later that night, Stone took to the stage and wriggled in and out of different

"CHANCE IS THE PLOTTING OF A PATTERN," SAYS CHRIS KRAUSE. "CHANCE IS A FACTOR IN CAPITALISM." SHE THINKS SOME MORE. "CHANCE IS AN INTUITIVE TAPPING INTO DESTINY."

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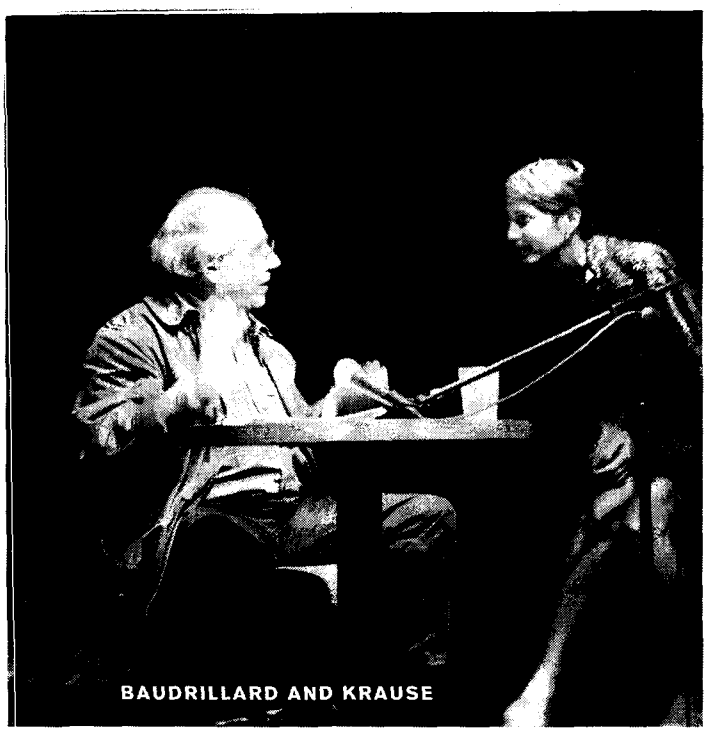

BAUDRILLARD AND KRAUSE

costumes, showing how easily one could assume multiple identities. Her inspiration, she explained, was the Internet, a mecca of multiple-personality possibility. With every costume, she said, she, too, was exploring an authentic personality of her own. Her first number was a sultry rendition of Cole Porter's "I Get a Kick Out of You." By the time Stone sang the refrain—"I get my kicks from Jean B."—she had left the stage and strode up the aisle to where Baudrillard, who had finally arrived a few hours earlier, was seated next to his wife. At this point, Baudrillard pulled out a small camera and started photographing the whole scene, while Stone crooned at him, undulating her feather boa.

At our booth—now fouled with beer bottles, cigarette butts, and dollar bills—noise makers arrived, distributed to the audience by helpful aides, and Stone implored us to help her reach orgasm. "We can remap the surface of our bodies," she explained, as she claimed to move her clitoris to the palm of her left hand. Then, using her right hand, protected by a bright-pink kitchen glove, she began to stroke the dislocated organ. She fell to her knees, reaching ebullient climax as the house music pulsed, audience members blew on their noisemakers, and Baudrillard continued snapping pictures. "I want to remind you that it is real," she said afterward, referring to her orgasm. "You can do this at home if you want to."

"I WANT TO REMIND YOU THAT IT IS REAL," SAID TEXAS PROFESSOR SANDY STONE, REFERRING TO HER ON-STAGE ORGASM. "YOU CAN DO THIS AT HOME IF YOU WANT TO."

What Baudrillard thought of all this was hard to know. He's not particularly effusive, and how much he grasps of rapid-fire spoken English is unclear. His thick accent makes him nearly incomprehensible in English. Scheduled for the next afternoon, Baudrillard's speech was postponed to the evening. But the scheduling change gave him more time to gamble (he claims to have won $150 at the slots) and to be with his wife, Marine, who for most of the weekend was wearing a red dress with playing cards sewn around the bustline. Baudrillard is apparently something of a curmudgeon; he could be overheard grousing in French to his wife about having to face his fans, stylish twentysomethings clutching copies of his polemic *Forget Foucault*. "We have time," his wife admonished him in French. "Sign their books." And so he did.

Finally, late on Saturday night, Baudrillard was seated under a spotlight at a small round table in the carpeted ballroom, his essay spread out before him, while several hundred Chance attendees sprawled on the floor, alternately drinking, smoking, and dozing. Obliquely titled "To do Away With Liberty, or How Not to Escape One's Destiny, or Fatal Against Fractal, or This World Which Thinks Us," Baudrillard's speech was, for those attendees who were able to understand his English, an apparent rebuke of their Internet-inspired liberation theology.

In Baudrillard's view, the Internet is no antidote to mass-media conformity. Rather, it's yet another technology-based instrument for the dissolution of the self—an instrument all the more disturbing because the means of dissolution are now in the hands of the dissolute themselves.

"Long ago," he told his audience, "we were important enough for someone to fight over our souls." But we are now obliged "to assume our own salvation...to play with our own reality, to take ourselves as stake, to experiment and to dispute endlessly in an infernal and perpetual contestation, without Judgment Day now, and without any real game rule." Where the consumption of mass-produced goods once created the illusion of free will, now our own productions give us a false sense of choice and freedom. For Baudrillard, the Internet is both irresistible and fatal, allowing us to "to hallucinate the world through technique, and to disappear along with this hallucination, in this experimental conjuration of the other, which is nothing else but a softened form of death." Cyberspace is the field on which this lethal "fractalization" of the self occurs and any sense of "shared destiny" vanishes.

What did the audience make of Baudrillard's speech? Perhaps no more than he intended them to. He seemed to exaggerate his accent and mumble his sentences deliberately, watching in delight as his audience strained to catch his every word. Eventually, his voice trailed off, and the Chance Band took the stage.

THE NEXT DAY,

Baudrillard and Stone gathered in Krause's room for a press conference. When asked to defend her affirmation of the Internet and of multiple personalities in light of Baudrillard's remarks, Stone offered a bizarre, circular disclaimer as Baudrillard

REYNALDO RIVERA

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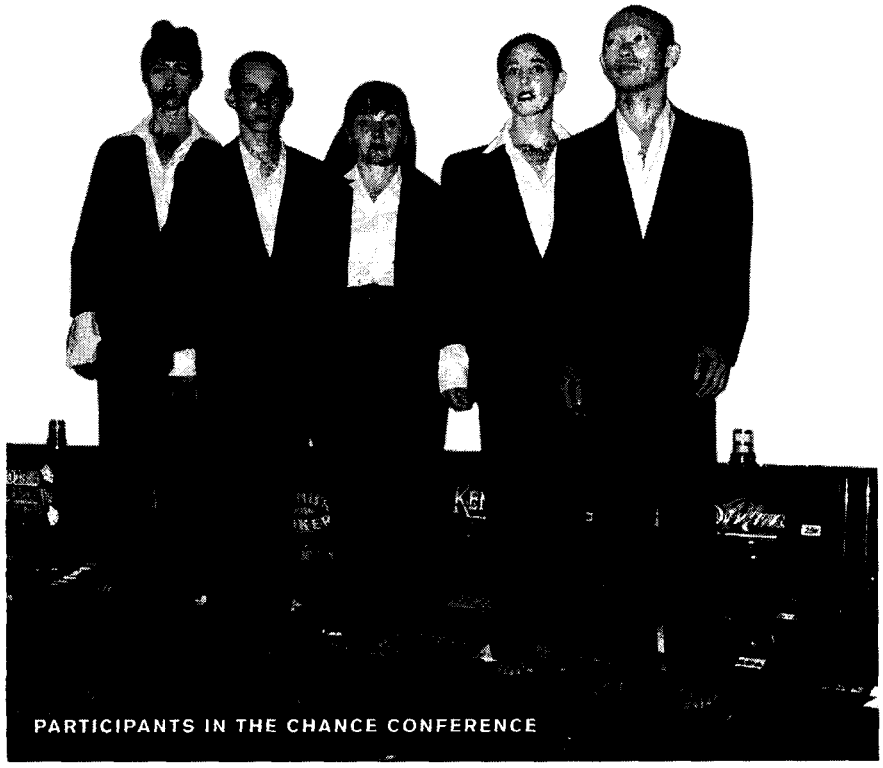
looked on, inscrutable as always. "It is very difficult for me to articulate my position in regard to shared or fragmented destiny," she said sincerely, albeit a bit nervously. "The language I use for that is not the language of theory, it's a language of the body. We cannot state the answer to your question in traditional academic terms, in the terms of the discourse we all share."

Why not? I asked. "In terms of my performance on Friday night," she replied, "framing it in terms of my daughter [who had appeared in a photo staring at a computer screen], I can go with my daughter only so far beyond the edge of this river that marks out the boundaries between the subjectivities from which we have come and the subjectivities into which we are proceeding ineluctably. But I cannot take her beyond that, because I am a product of modernity.

"We are rapidly passing beyond postmodernity into something else, and as I let go of my daughter's hand and I watch her recede into that distance, I realize that there is a discursive curtain coming down between us that we will never be able to penetrate. It is that discursive curtain which we are confronting here." At this point, the discursive curtain fell on our own conversation, and I began to retreat from the room.

Meanwhile, out on the casino floor, a number of the attendees were trying to figure out what the conference had to do with chance, and what—if anything—this event had been about. I joined them and went around taking a poll, looking for some consensus. The only point on which nearly everyone agreed was that the highlight of the conference had been around midnight on Saturday, when Baudrillard, wearing a gold-lamé Elvis jacket, got onstage with the Chance Band and began reading excerpts from his writings in a droning monotone. As the band cast off guitar riffs, Baudrillard seemed truly to be enjoying himself, returning again and again to the stage to read more of his work, until finally, at about 3 A.M., when many of the attendees had either gone back to Vegas to gamble or passed out in their beds, Baudrillard wandered off, past the slot machines still ring-a-linging, to his room to sleep.

David S. Bennahum is a contributing editor of *Lingua Franca*. His book, *Coming of Age in Cyberspace,* will be published by Basic Books next fall.



REYNALDO RIVERA

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continued from page 7

and Eliade was entitled to offer his account as a foil to those who have proposed a reductive one. The biggest indictment of the people interviewed in your article is that they oppose Eliade not on the grounds that his theory is wrong, limited, or untestable but on the grounds that he personally believed in the sacred. Religious studies will deserve the respect of other disciplines not when atheists supplant believers but when the discipline provides convincing explanations of religion, whatever those explanations may be.

ROBERT A. SEGAL,
READER IN THEORY OF RELIGION,
UNIVERSITY OF LANCASTER, U.K.

Charlotte Allen responds:
Barbara DeConcini's letter assumes that my article took at face value all of NAASR's claims, including its claim that the AAR is an association of religious believers and that belief in God or gods is a requirement for membership. Quite the contrary. My point was simply that the AAR is a behemoth of a professional organization whose members' methodologies and ideologies are all over the board. I had hoped that the quotation from Sheila Davancey, the head of the AAR's theology and religious-reflection section, in which she states that within the organization "there's not even any definitive consensus over the subject matter," had made that point clear.

Robert Segal takes me to task for asserting that Mircea Eliade "actually believed there was such a thing as the 'sacred.'" My article stated explicitly that Eliade was not a theologian, and I hope I made it plain that he never attempted to give any definite content to the notion of the sacred. However, my reading of Eliade leads me to believe that the sacred had a reality for him as a category of human experience that made him the fervent antireductionist that he was. The sacred, in Eliade's view, was that "unique and irreducible" element of all religious phenomena that my quotation from *The Sacred and the Profane* noted. Elsewhere in that book, Eliade wrote: "The sacred is saturated with *being*. Sacred power means reality and at the same time enduringness and efficacity.... Thus it is easy to understand that religious man desires to *be*, to participate in *reality*, to be saturated with power." (The italics are Eliade's.) Furthermore, Segal accuses me of casting "the debate in religious studies as one between believers and nonbelievers." That characterization is NAASR's, not my own.

DON'T STAND SO CLOSE TO ME

I found it appropriate that my reading of Reid Cushman's "From a Distance" [*LF*, November] was interrupted by an advertisement for a new edition of Walter Benjamin's writings. Benjamin would have much to say about distance learning. Actually, a critique of this kind of distance is implicit in his classic essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." With some swapping of terms, many of Benjamin's formulations in that piece address our current concerns. For instance, his "that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art" becomes for us "that which withers in the age of distance learning is the aura of instruction." By "aura" Benjamin meant "the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be." When we are in the presence of the authentic work of art, or the authentic teacher and student, we witness their auras.

Like the work of art, instruction "with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function," its relation to the occult and to magic. Educational magic depends on teachers and students being personally present to each other. The terminological irony of "distance" learning is that it negates spatial distance (by bringing instruction into your home) even as it increases human distance. How will we be transformed when the emanations of our faces and voices are no longer an issue? What then will count to us as a knowledge worth advancing and assessing?

The proliferation of distance learning is inevitable because it benefits many in academia. But distance learning is also inevitable because advertising, fronting for the computer industry, will see to it. And what will be the ultimate message of this advertising? Will it be the very democratic message that with distance learning more "masses" can participate in the great discussion of how we live and might live? Or will it be the more insidious one about the lesser economic potential of allowing bodies to be personally present to each other?

BRENT GOWEN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH,
PALOMAR COLLEGE

COMPOSING A HOAX

I would like to make two corrections to Emily Nussbaum's otherwise fine and evenhanded overview of reactions to the Araki Yasusada writings ["Turning Japanese," *LF*, November]. First, the poems of mine "written in the voice of a Hiroshima survivor" that Nussbaum refers to are given an incorrect place of publication and title. They were originally published in *Ironwood* in 1987 as a special section titled "From the Daybooks of Ogiwara Miyamori." The second correction is that Javier Alvarez, co-caretaker with me of Tosa Motokiyu's manuscripts, is not a "folk singer," as Nussbaum states. Alvarez is one of Latin America's most prominent avant-garde composers, and his music has been performed and recorded by leading orchestras and chamber ensembles around the world. A number of his award-winning compositions are available on his *Papalotl: Transformaciones Exoticas* (Saydisc).

KENT JOHNSON,
FREEPORT, ILLINOIS

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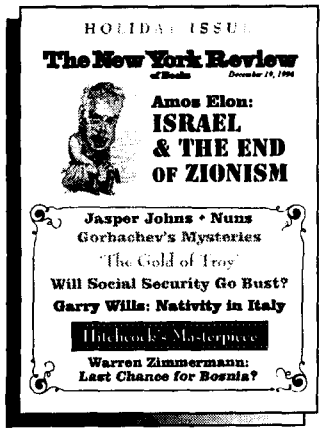

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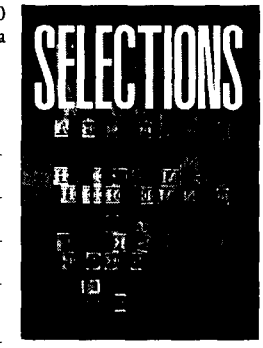

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baccalaureate (liberal arts) colleges I

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Nebraska Wslyn	President
Spelman C	President
Wesleyan C	President
Willamette U	President

CORRECTION: In our last issue, the announcement of a search for the post of president of Franklin College was mistakenly identified as a search for that post at Franklin & Marshall College. Franklin & Marshall College is not currently carrying on a presidential search. Our apologies for the misprint.

baccalaureate colleges II

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Ozarks, C of	President
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S Colorado, U of	President
S Utah U	President
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St Joseph's C (NY)	President
St Mary's C	President
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Wiley C	President

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Drexel U	Vice President for Research
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Lehigh U	Provost & Vice President for Acad Affairs
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Mass, Amherst	Provost/Vice Chancellor Acad Affairs
Montana, U of	Vice President for Research & Development
Northwestern U	Assoc Provost for Undergrad Education
Oklahoma S U	Provost, Oklahoma S U, Oklahoma City
Oregon S U	Vice Provost for Research
S Carolina, Columb	Vice President Acad Affairs/Provost
S Methodist U	Vice Provost/Dean of Dedman College
SUNY, Stny Brk	Vice President Research
Temple U	Vice Provost for Undergrad Studies
Tennessee, System	Vice Chancellor for Acad Affairs
Tulane U	Provost
UC, Offc of Pres	Vice Provost for Acad Initiatives
Washington S U	Provost
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masters colleges & universities

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Alaska, Anchrg	Provost
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Calvin C	Academic Dean of Social Sci/Lang/Lit/Arts
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Coll of New Jersey	Vice President of Acad Affairs
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Indiana, Kokm	Vice Chancellor for Acad Affairs
Keene S C	Vice President of Acad Affairs
LSU, Shrevprt	Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs
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Russell Sage C	Vice President for Acad Affairs
S Carolina S	Vice President of Acad Affairs
S Carolina S	Assoc Vice President Faculty & Prgrms
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Sam Houston S	Vice President of Acad Affairs
St Cloud S U	Vice President of Acad Affairs
SUNY C at Buffalo	Vice President of Acad Affairs & Provost
W Chester U	Associate Provost
Wilmington C (DE)	Vice President Acad Affairs/ Dean Faculty
Wiscnsn, Oshk	Associate Vice Chancellor for Acad Affairs
Wiscnsn, StevPt	Provost & Vice Chancellor
Xavier U of LA	Vice President of Acad Affairs

baccalaureate (liberal arts) colleges I

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Manhattanville	Provost & Dean of Faculty
Oglethorpe U	Provost/Dean of Acad Affairs
William Jewell C	Acad Vice President & Provost

baccalaureate colleges II

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Holy Family C	Vice President & Dean of Acad Affairs
Indiana U East	Vice Chancellor for Acad Affairs
John Brown U	Provost & Dean of Faculty
Le Moyne C	Acad Vice President
Lock Haven U	Vice President Acad Affairs/Provost
Lyon C	Vice Pres Acad Services/Dean Faculty
Marian C	Vice President Acad Affairs/Dean Faculty
Marietta C	Provost & Dean of Faculty
McKendree C	Vice President Acad Affairs/Dean Faculty
New England C	Vice President Acad Affairs/Dean College
North Adams S	Vice President of Acad Affairs
S Colorado, U of	Assoc Provost
Savannah S U	Vice President of Acad Affairs
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We have listed only those positions in academic administration most likely to interest the readers of *Lingua Franca*, who are in the great majority faculty, administrators, and scholars working in fields related to the liberal arts and sciences at four-year colleges and universities, and who themselves comprise a rich pool of potential applicants to these positions. We have not included positions which exclusively concern agriculture, business administration and management, education, engineering, law, library administration, or medicine and health.

The institutions have been grouped in order of the Carnegie Foundation's 1994 Classification of Institutions of Higher Education.

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N Texas, U of	Assoc Dean, Sch of Visual Arts
New Mexico, Uof	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Northwestern U	Dean, Medill School of Journalism
Northwestern U	Dean School of Education & Social Policy
Notre Dame, U of	Dean of College of Arts & Letters
Nova U	Dean, Center for Psychological Studies
Ohio S U	Dean, Col of Math/Physical Sciences
Ohio U	Dean of College of Fine Arts
Penn S U	Centr Exec Officer/Assoc Dean Grad Sch
Princeton U	Dean of the Faculty
Rice U	Director, Cntr Study of Languages
Rochester, U of	Dean, Faculty of Arts, Sci & Engineering
S Mississippi, U of	Director, Cntr Science Math Education
SW Louisiana	Dean Applied Life Sciences
Texas Woman's	Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
Tulane U	Dean of the School of Architecture
UC, Berkeley	Dean Graduate School Public Policy
UC, Irvine	Dean, Sch of Biological Sciences
UC, Riverside	Dean Natural/Agricultural Sci College
UC, St Barbara	Dean of Humanities & Fine Arts
Utah S U	Dean, College of Natural Resources
Vanderbilt U	Dean College of Arts & Sciences
Virginia Cmnwlth	Dean of Humanities & Sciences
Virginia, U of	Dean of Graduate School of Arts & Sciences
Washington, U of	Dean Ocean and Fishery Sciences
Wayne S U	Dean, College of Lifelong Learning
William & Mary	Dean of Faculty of Arts & Sciences
Wisconsn, Milw	Dean College Engineering & Applied Sci

masters colleges & universities

Alaska, Anchrg	Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
Appalachian S	Dean of Graduate Studies & Research
Arizona S West	Vice Provost for Acad Affairs
Armstrong Atlantic	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Ashland U	Dean of College of Liberal Arts & Sciences
Ashland U	Dean of College of Business & Economics
Bridgewater S	Dean of School of Arts & Sciences
Butler U	Dean of Liberal Arts & Sciences
Cal S, LosAngls	Dean of Business & Economics
Cal S, Nrthrdg	Dean, College of Science & Mathematics
Cal S, SnBrndno	Dean of School of Natural Sciences
Carthage C	Dean of the College
Cntrl Arkansas	Dean, Col of Fine Arts & Communication
Creighton U	Dean of University College
E Connecticut S	Dean, Sch of Arts & Design
E Washington U	Dean, College of Business & Public Admin
Florida A&M U	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Grand Valley S	Dean of Arts & Humanities
Humboldt S U	Dean for Research & Graduate Studies
Kean C	Dean Grad Studies, Research, Continuing Ed
LakeSuperior S	Dean of Arts, Letters & Social Sci
Lesley C	Assoc Dean, Undergrad/Dean, Women's C
Marist C	Dean, Div of Computer Sci & Math
Marist C	Dean, Div of Science
Millersville (PA)	Dean of Humanities & Social Sciences
Millersville (PA)	Assoc Dean, Humanities & Social Sci
Minnsota, Dlth	Dean of School of Fine Arts
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Montclair S C	Asst Dean, Grad Studies & Research
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N Central C	Dean, Grad & Continuing Education
National U	Dean, Sch of Arts & Sciences
Nevada, LVgs	Dean, College of Fine Arts
Nevada, LVgs	Dean, College of Business & Economics
Nevada, LVgs	Dean of the College of Sciences
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Radford U	Dean of Arts & Sciences
S Maine, U of	Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
San Jose S U	Dean of College of Social Sciences
Scranton, U of	Dean College of Arts & Sciences
SE Missouri S	Dean of College of Science & Technology
St Cloud S U	Dean of Fine Arts & Humanities
St Edward's U	Dean of School of Natural Science
St Edward's U	Dean of New College
Stephen Austin	Dean of College of Liberal Arts
Stephen Austin	Dean of College of Fine Arts
SUNY, New Paltz	Dean of Liberal Arts & Sciences
SUNY, Potsdm	Dean of Education & Grad Studies
SW Texas S U	Dean of School of Science
Texas, El Paso	Dean of Liberal Arts
Texas, Pan Am	Dean, Science & Engineering
Towson S U	Dean of College of Natural Science/Math
Valdosta S C	Dean of School of Fine Arts
W Texas A&M	Dean Col Agrcltr, Nursing, & Natural Sci
Wisconsn, Whitew	Dean of Arts & Communication
Wm Paterson C	Dean Continuing Ed/Distance Learning
Youngstown S	Dean of Fine & Performing Arts

baccalaureate (liberal arts) colleges I

Middlebury C	Dean of Languages & Int'l Studies
St John's (MN)	Dean of the College

baccalaureate colleges II

Loras C	Assoc Acad Dean
Maine, Presque	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Messiah C	Acad Dean
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SUNY, Regents	Asst Dean, Liberal Arts

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SUNY, Bngmtn	Washington, Patricia	San Diego S
Temple U	Gray, Cecil	Gettysburg C
Temple U	Livingston, Samuel	San Diego S
Texas, Austin	Lefkowitz, Dan	Kansas, U of
Texas, Austin	Meintjes, Louise	Arizona, U of
Texas, Austin	Morter, Jonathan	Charleston, C of
Texas, Austin	Sammons, Kay	Arizona, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Woods, Clyde	Penn S U
UC, Santa Cruz	Corona, Nancy	Ohio S U
UC, St Barbara	Jackson, Shirley	Bowling Green S
CAN-York	Gotell, Lise	Alberta-CAN
SWT-Geneva	Fasrer, Cary	Penn S U

ANTHROPOLOGY/ ARCHEOLOGY/FOLKLORE

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Arizona, U of	Mamadou, Baro	Arizona, Tucson
Arizona, U of	Norcini, Marilyn	New Mexico S U
Arizona, U of	Walker, William	New Mexico S U
Boston U	Elia, Ricardo	Boston U
Chicago, U of	Anderson, Jeffrey	Colby C
Chicago, U of	Moore, Robert	New York U
Chicago, U of	Schattschneider, Ellen	Emory U
Chicago, U of	Watts, David	Yale U
Chicago, U of	Wright, Lori	Texas A&M U
Colorado, U of	Thomas, Jan	Kenyon C
Columbia U	Owens, Bruce	Wheaton C (MA)
CUNY, Grad Cntr	Davila, Arlene M.	Syracuse U
CUNY, Grad Cntr	Hammar, Lawrence J.	Lewis & Clark C
Harvard U	Arnold, Bettina	Wisctsn, Milw
Harvard U	Doi, Mary M.	Bryn Mawr C
Harvard U	Hendon, Julia	Gettysburg C
Harvard U	Hiebert, Fredrik	Penn, U of
Harvard U	Yan, Yunxiang	UC, Los Angeles
Illinois, U of	King, C. Richard	Drake U
Illinois, U of	Wesson, Cameron	Oklahoma, U of
Illinois, Urbana	Torres, Arlene	Illinois, Urbana
Indiana U	Argyrou, Vassos	Colgate U
Indiana U	Farnell, Brenda	Illinois, Urbana
Indiana U	Hardin, Kris	Beloit C
Indiana U	Hardy, Bruce	Kenyon C
Indiana U	Jaffe, Alexandrta	S Mississippi, U of
Iowa, U of	Semendeferi, F.	UC, San Diego
Iowa, U of	Sexton, Rocky	Augustana C (IL)
Johns Hopkins	Ali, Kamaran	Rochester, U of
Mass, Amherst	Hyatt, Susan	Temple U
Mass, Amherst	Kingsolver, Ann	S Carolina, Clm
Mass, U of	Markowitz, Lisa	Louisville, U of
Michigan S U	Morsy, Soheir	Tufts U
Michigan, U of	Blum, Susan	Colorado, Denv
Michigan, U of	Kozaitis, Kathryn	Georgia S U
Michigan, U of	Leonard, William	Florida, Gnsvl
Michigan, U of	Manson, Joseph	UC, Los Angeles
Michigan, U of	Perry, Susan E.	UC, Los Angeles
N Carolina, ChpH	Lassiter, Luke E.	Ball S U
New Mexico, U of	Alexander, Rani	New Mexico S U
New York U	Thomas-Houston, M.	Carolina, Clm
Northwestern U	Williams, Sloan	Illinois, Chicago
Ohio S U	White, Vibert	Illinois, Sprngf
Penn, U of	Mughal, Mohammed	Boston U
Pomona C	Neuman, Lisa	St Norbert C
Rutgers U	Cruz Torres, Maria	UC, Riverside
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S Methodist U	Browne, Katherine	Colorado S U
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S Methodist U	LoMonaco, Barbara	Transylvania U
S Methodist U	Masucci, Maria	Drew U
S Methodist U	Walker, Deborah	Florida Int'l U
S Methodist U	Zedeno, Maria	Arizona, Tucson
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Stanford U	Lugo, Alejandro	Illinois, Urbana
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SUNY, Stny Brk	Waddle, Diane	Colorado S U
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Texas, Austin	Giuffre, Patti	Grand Valley S
Texas, Austin	Masson, Marilyn	SUNY, Albany
Texas, Austin	White Jenny	Boston U
Texas Woman's U	Childers, Cheryl	Washburn U
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UC, Berkeley	Jacquemet, Marco	Barnard C
UC, Berkeley	Nabokov, Isabelle	Princeton U
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UC, Berkeley	Townsend, Nicholas	Brown U
UC, Davis	Clarke, Margaret R.	Tulane U
UC, Los Angeles	Lucero, Lisa	New Mexico S U
UC, Los Angeles	Pang, Keng-Fong	Mt Holyoke C
UC, St Barbara	Lambert, Patricia M.	Utah S U
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Virginia, U of	Bamford, Sandra	Lethbridge-CAN
Virginia, U of	Gable, Edward E.	Mary Washngtn C
Virginia, U of	Piot, Charles	Colorado, Bldr
W Michigan U	Rynbrandt, Linda	Grand Valley S
Washington U	Hofling, Charles	S Illinois, Crbndl
Washington, U of	Goolsby, Rebecca	Alaska Pacific U
Wisctsn, U of	Thornburg, John	Ilinois Benedctn
Yale U	Everett, Margaret	Portland S U
CAN-Br Columbia	Orie, Olanike Ola	Tulane U
CAN-Br Columbia	Underhill, Anne P.	Yale U
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CAN-Montreal	Sicotte, Pascale	Calgary-CAN
CAN-Toronto	Routledge, Bruce	Penn, U of
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Art Inst Chicago	Jeck, Douglas	Washington, U of
Art Inst Chicago	LeBergott, Karen	Lake Forest C
Art Inst Chicago	Ledgerwood, Judy	Northwestern U
Art Inst Chicago	Lee, Jin	Illinois S U
Art Inst Chicago	O'Toole, Helen	Washington, U of
Art Inst Chicago	Tamblyn, Christine	UC, Irvine
ArtCntrCollDesign	Shields, Charles	Cal S, Fresno

THIS ISSUE: Afro-American/Ethnic/Women's Studies through Drama/Dance/Film/Video. Our next issues: Economics, English/American Language & Literature, French/Italian Languages & Literatures, Geography, Geology & Earth Sciences, German Language & Literature, History, Linguistics, Mathematics & Statistics, Mid-East & African Languages & Literatures, Music, Philosophy, Physics/Astronomy, Political Science, Psychology, Religion, Russian/Slavic Languages & Literatures, Sociology/Criminal Justice and Spanish/Portuguese Languages & Literatures.

THESE TABLES reflect first-time hirings to full-time junior positions effective as of the '96-'97 academic year in the liberal arts and sciences at more than 500 four-year colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. In the fall we will begin to list hirings and tenurings taking effect as of the '97 academic term.

The tables should be read as follows: the institution in the third column hired for the first time the individual in the second column to a full-time junior position. (It may not be the first junior position the individual has gotten.) The individual received graduate training at the institution in the first column.

Though many of these hirings are to multi-year, tenure-track contracts, many are for one-year positions only.

Information about graduate training was in most cases obtained either from the hiring institution or from the individual. This information has not been double-checked in all cases with each training institution. "N/A" means this information was not available at press time.

Where we have a campus name (e.g. "Illinois, Urbana"), we use it. But someone trained there might be listed instead under the general university name (e.g., "Illinois, U of").

WE INVITE our readers to help make JOBTRACKS an even more comprehensive reference tool, in the following ways: PLEASE LET US KNOW if one of our items is in error, on the stationery of the hiring department, specifying your name and title.

HIRING INSTITUTIONS: If your institution isn't fully represented and should be, write or call us to request the appropriate form.

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FACULTY MEMBERS: If your name isn't here and should be, ascertain who in your administration or news office both has this information for the liberal arts and sciences, and is willing to part with it. Give us the person's name and title, and your name and title. Note that we are not listing first-time hirings to those senior positions that are probationary (*e.g.* associate professor without tenure).

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JUNIOR HIRINGS, BY DISCIPLINE AND GRADUATE TRAINING

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
Boston U	Riccardi, Lee Ann	Boston U
Cal Inst Art	Schreiber, Rachek	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Cal Inst Arts	Floyd, Nancy	Georgia S U
Cal S, Fresno	McQuone, Richard	Cal S, Fresno
Carnegie Mellon	Siefert, Christopher	LSU, BatnRoug
Chicago, U of	Kaminishi, Ikumi	Tufts U
Chicago, U of	Kita, Sandy	Maryland, CollPk
Chicago, U of	Mathews, Karen	Colorado, Denv
Chicago, U of	Reimer, Karen	Bethel C (MN)
Cincinnati, U of	Hodge, Challis	Wiscnsn, Stout
Cincinnati, U of	Kidie, Zdenko	Auburn U
Cincinnati, U of	Lindsay, Michael	Georgia S U
Claremont Grad	Singerman, Howard	Virginia, U of
Columbia U	D'Alleva, Anne	St Thomas, U of
Columbia U	Fairbanks, Karen	Barnard C
Columbia U	Long, Jane	Roanoke C
Columbia U	Sanders, Joel	New School
Cranbrook Acad	Moren, Lisa	S Oregon S C
Cranbrook Acad	Schorn, Brian	E Michigan U
CUNY, GradCntr	Boone, Mary Elizabeth	Humboldt S U
CUNY, GradCntr	Feeser, Andrea VanLaer	Hawaii, U of
CUNY, GradCntr	Luftschein, Susan	Parsons Sch Design
CUNY, GradCntr	Roth, Nancy Ann	Folmouth C-UK
Duke U	Weitz, Ankeney	Denison U
E Carolina U	Maune, Detrich	Frostburg S U
E Texas S U	Waters, Laura	Muskingum C
Florida S U	Causey, Carley	Mississippi C
Florida S U	Floyd, Minuette	S Carolina, U of
Florida S U	Meyer, Richard	S Cal, U of
Florida S U	Pope, Robert	Alabama, U of
Georgia, U of	Zarur, Elizabethy	New Mexico S U
Harvard U	Anez-Spangler, Martha	Wesleyan U
Harvard U	Cadogan, Jean	Trinity C (CT)
Harvard U	Mansfield, Elizabeth	South, U of the
Harvard U	Zell, Michael	Boston U
Illinois, Chicago	Weisson, Barbara	Barat C
Illinois, U of	Ciganko, Richard	Indiana U of PA
Indiana U	Brogmann, Cindy	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Indiana U	Brueggenjohann, Jean	Missouri, Clmb
Indiana U	Rakic, Svetlana	Franklin C
Indiana, U of	Barrow, Jane	S Illinois, Edwrds
Indiana, U of	Zurbrigg, Susan	Grinnell C
Iowa S U	Bartlett, Robert	Drake U
Iowa, U of	Hanna-Vargas, Emily	Georgia S U
Iowa, U of	Younger, Dan	Missouri, St L
James Madison	Meredith, Richard	Valley City S
Kansas, U of	Janzen, Reinhild	Washburn U
Kansas, U of	Wetzel, S. Jean	Cal Polytech
Kent S U	Balistreri, John	Bowling Green S
Kent S U	Shidler, Dale	Loyola, Chicago
Kentucky, U of	Tomasek, Aimee	Valparaiso U
Long Island U	Lovett, Barnetta	Auburn U
Maryland, U of	Libby, Susan H.	Washington C
Mass, Amherst	Fay, Patricia	LebanonValley
Memphis C of Art	Redmond, Jerry	MissippiValley
Michigan S U	Nash, gary	MissippiValley
Michigan, U of	Balck, Charlene M.	Michigan S U
Minneapolis Art/Design	Baugnet, Julie	Wiscnsn, RiverF
Minnesota, U of	Jost, Scott	E Mennonite C
Minnesota, U of	Lois-Borzi, Anna	St Cloud S U
Missouri, U of	Black, Bonnie	Arkansas, LtlRk
Moore C of Art	Saraullo, Carol	Beaver C
N Carolina, ChpH	Rhodes, Robin	Notre Dame, U of
N Carolina, Grns	Boone, Harry W.	Indianapolis, U of
N Carolina Sch Arts	Swanson, John	Cal S, Bakersfld
N Florida, U of	Hill, William	W Virginia Wslyn
N Texas, U of	Fairlie, Carol	Sul Ross S U
N/A	Cros, Sharon	Moravian C
N/A	Diao, David	Hampshire
N/A	Marsan, Kathryn	Connecticut, U of
N/A	Prentice, Jeff	New Orleans, Uof
N/A	Roma, Thomas	Columbia U
N/A	Shortridge, Lee	Oral Roberts U
N/A	Siegel, Martha	New York Tech
N/A	Urban, Constance	W Ontario-CAN
N/A	Vu Daniel, Tomas	Columbia U
Nebraska, U of	Palmeri, Nancy	Texas, Arlington
Nevada, U of	Callister, Jane	UC, St Barbara
New Mexico, U of	Bernstein, Barbara	Cal S, Fresno
New Mexico, U of	ParkeHarrison, Robert	Holy Cross, C of
New Mexico, U of	Klages, Ricki	Wyoming, U of
New York U	Cernuschi, Claude	Boston C
New York U	Ryor, Kathleen	Carleton C
New York U	Vergara, Alexander	Columbia U
Ohio S U	DeVriese, Todd	Ohio S, Marion
Oregon, U of	Aguilera, Frederick	SUNY, Oswego
Penn, U of	Dempsey, Anna	Grinnell C
Penn, U of	Engman, Bevin	Colby C
Penn, U of	Lupkin, Paula	Denison U
Penn, U of	Muldrow, Ralph C.	Charleston, C of
Penn, U of	Robertson, Jean	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Pittsburgh, U of	Schroeder, Ivy	S Illinois, Edwrds
Pratt Institute	Sayre, Roger	Pace, WhitePl
Princeton U	Escobar, Jesus	Fairfield U
Princeton U	Steinhoff, Juith	Houston, U of
Purdue U	Green, Rebecca	Bowling Green S
R I Design	Catlin, Jane S.	Utah S U
R I Design	Smith, Joseph	Mt Holyoke C
R I Design	Taylor, Judith	Beaver C
Rensselaer Poly	McCoy, Kevin	CUNY, City C
Rutgers U	Belic, Zoran	Denver, U of
Rutgers U	Brown, Pamela	Kenyon C
Rutgers U	Earenfight, Philip	Juniata C
Rutgers U	Guttzeit, Carol	Oregon S U
Rutgers U	Montgomery, Scott	Oregon S U
Rutgers U	Raverty, Dennis	Pittsburg S U
S Carolina, U of	Keown, Gary	SE Louisiana U
S Illinois U	Bromley, Kimble	N Dakota S U
SUNY, Bngmtn	Hamme, Nancy	W Georgia C
SUNY, Bngmtn	Perera, Nihal	Ball S U
SUNY, Bngmtn	Socki, Joe	Beloit C
SUNY, Buffalo	Hoover, Brian	S Utah U
SUNY, Stny Brk	Vacanti, M. Monica	Canisius C
Syracuse U	Larson, Stephan	Mississippi, U of
Tennessee, Knox	Benson, Aaron	Union U
Texas, Austin	Grant, Kim	Longwood C
Texas, Austin	Headrick, Annabeth	Western S C
Texas, Austin	Newsome, Elizabeth	UC, San Diego
Texas, Austin	String, Tania	Bristol-UK
Texas Tech	Prater, Michael E.	Ball S U
Texas Woman's U	Hall, Kathryn	Texas Weslyn
Tulsa, U of	Wong-Ligda, Ed	Grand Valley S
UC	Linebarger, David	Northeastern S U
UC, Berkeley	Doherty, Brigid	Johns Hopkins
UC, Berkeley	Fraser, Sarah	Northwestern U
UC, Berkeley	Stewart, Carol	Rhodes C
UC, Los Angeles	Klein, Jeanette	Berea C
UC, San Diego	Nohe, Timothy	Mass, Boston
UC, Santa Cruz	Bork, Robert	South, U of the
UC, St Barbara	Bergman, sky	Cal Polytech
UC, St Barbara	Everman, Charlette	Union C (NY)
Utah S U	Harris, Susan	S Utah U
Utah S U	Sessions, Wilona	Cal S, SnBrndno
Virginia Cmnwlth	Petrillo, Jane	Colby-Sawyer C
Virginia Cmnwlth	Rowe, Peyton	S Carolina, Clm
Virginia, U of	Mauzerall, Hope	Grinnell C
Washington & Lee	Marshall, Donald	SE Louisiana U
Washington U	Gondek, Jessica	Loyola, Chicago
Washington U	Liddy, Timothy	Fontbonne C
Washington, U of	Ascheim, Deborah	Drew U
Washington, U of	Mayra, Roland	W Carolina U
Wesleyan U	Wright, William	Cntrl Connecticut
Wichita S U	Milbrandt, Melody	W Georgia C
Wiscnsn, Madsn	Germany, Robin	Texas Tech
Wiscnsn, Milw	Richards, Jacqueline	Illinois S U
Yale U	Armstrong, Frank	Connecticut, U of
Yale U	Brody, David	Washington, U of
Yale U	Delano, Pablo	Trinity C (CT)
Yale U	Dillon, Diane	Northwestern U
Yale U	Reed, Christopher	Lake Forest C
BULG-Acad Fine Arts	Natchev, Alexi	Connecticut, U of
CAN-Victoria	Cadge, Catie	S Oregon S C
GER-Hamburg	Heinrichs, Jurgen	Swarthmore C
UK-Courtland Inst.	Barber, Charles	Notre Dame, U of
UK-London, U of	Harney, Elizabeth	New York U
UK-London, U of	Kahn, Deborah	Boston U
UK-St Andrews	Delancey, Julia	Truman S U

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Cornell U	Yamada, Reiko	Williams C
Georgetown U	Wilkerson, Kyoko T.	Wake Forest U
Harvard U	DeBlasi, Anthony	SUNY, Albany
Harvard U	Goldin, Paul	Penn, U of
Harvard U	Schaberg, David C.	UC, Los Angeles
Illinois, Urbana	Mori, Yoshiko	Georgetown U
Iowa, U of	Cai, Jie	Harvard U
Iowa, U of	Chiba, Toru	Michigan, U of
Michigan S U	Zhou, Minglang	Colorado, Bldr
Michigan, U of	Cook, Scott	Grinnell C
Michigan, U of	Cui, Shuquin	S Methodist U
Minnesota, U of	Hess, Laura E.	Brown U
N/A	Reider, Noriko	Kenyon C
Ohio S U	Chen, Chunch	Tawain-Jingyi
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Ohio S U	Yotsukura, Lindsay	Maryland, CollPk
Penn, U of	Iino, Masakazu	Cal S, LosAngls
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Rochester, U of	Pan, Da'an	Muhlenberg C
S Indiana, U of	Inokawa, Mutsumi	S Indiana, U of
Stanford U	Cho, Young-mee Y.	Rutgers, NBruns
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UC, Berkeley	Myhre, Karin	Swarthmore C
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UC, Berkeley	Zakim, Eric	Duke U
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UC, Los Angeles	Shirai, Yashuiro	Cornell U
Washington, U of	Manring, Rebecca	Indiana U
Washington, U of	Slaymaker, Douglas	Kentucky, U of
Washington, U of	Yu, Zhiqiang	Bernard Baruch C
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Arizona, U of	BassiriRad, Hormoz	Illinois, Chicago
Arizona, U of	Byrd, Christine	W Michigan U
Arizona, U of	McDonald, David	Wyoming, U of
Boston U	Chung-Welch, N.	Boston U
Boston U	Rosengaus, Rebeca	Boston U
Bowling Green S	de Ku, Laura Juarez	Bowling Green S
Bowling Green S	Pan, Yangdong	Portland S U
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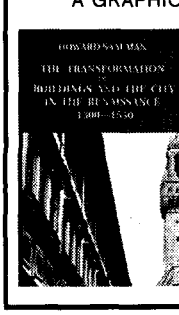

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Connecticut, U of	Starke, Thomas	MacMurray C
Connecticut, U of	Sullivan, John	Idaho, U of
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Cornell U	Haskell, David	South, U of the
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Denver, U of	Foster, Joan	Metropolitan S C
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Florida S U	Lehman, Herman	Hamilton C
Florida S U	Liu, Hui-chun	Northwestern U
Florida S U	Pollock, Neal	E Carolina U
Florida S U	Rhymer, Judy	Maine, U of
Florida S U	White, Joel	Tufts U
Florida, U of	Glendinning, John I.	Barnard C
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Fordham U	Lee, Jianhua	NY Medical C
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"Today's student is ready to move past 'victim feminism' and is anxious to learn new ideas and strategies being employed successfully by women in all areas of academic pursuit."

Sweet Briar College invites you to participate in the 1997 Ewald Scholars Program, *Women Succeeding in the Sciences: Theories and Practices Across the Disciplines.* This important interdisciplinary conference aims to develop a discussion of the ways in which women succeed in the sciences as researchers, as members of institutions, as teachers, as students, and as private individuals coping with professional demands. For more information, please contact the Ewald Conference Office, Gray Hall, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia, 24595, or send email to Ewald@SBC.EDU. You may also telephone at (800) 381-6050.

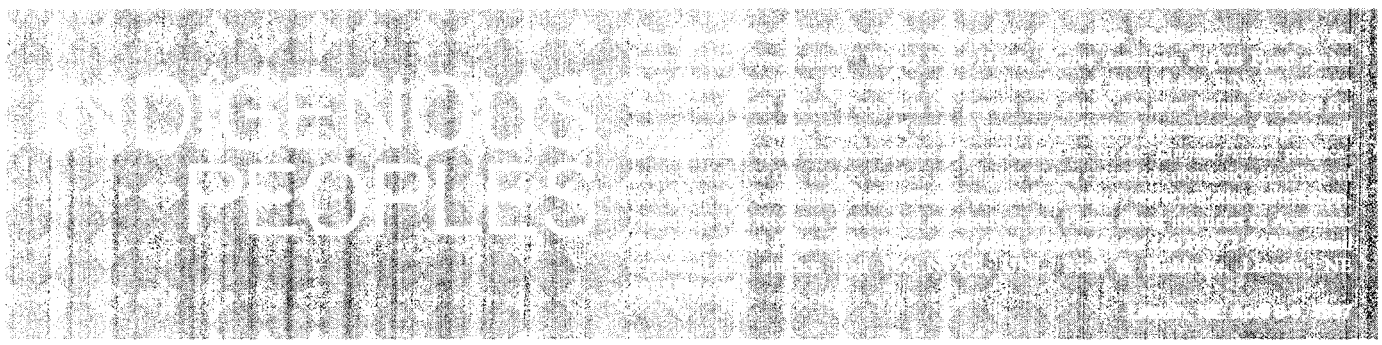
Sweet Briar, VA: April 3-5, 1997

MAJORITY RULES

"People of Color in Predominantly White Institutions: Different Perspectives on Majority Rules," a two-day national conference will be held at the University of Nebraska—Lincoln. Proposals for papers/panels are now being accepted for this interdisciplinary conference. Faculty, staff, administrators, students and others involved in higher education are encouraged to submit abstracts on the full range of topics related to the conference theme.

Guidelines are available on-line at http://www.unl.edu/conted/acpp. Presenters and students will receive discounted registration fees. Please direct inquiries to Academic Conferences and Professional Programs, (402) 472-2844; fax (402) 472-9688; e-mail acpp@unl.edu; surface mail 156 NCCE, UNL, 33rd & Holdrege, Lincoln, NE, 68583-9600

Lincoln, NE: April 18-19, 1997



BASEBALL AND AMERICAN CULTURE

The Ninth Annual Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture, co-sponsored by The State University of New York, Oneonta, and The National Baseball Hall fo Fame and Museum, Inc, will be held in Cooperstown, New York. This year's keynote speaker is Jules Tygiel, of the History Department at the University of San Francisco, and author of *Baseball's Noble Experiement.* Special guest Rachael Robinson, widow of baseball great Jackie Robinson, will join the conference for this multi-disciplinary discussion of America's favorite past time. Films on Hank Greenberg and several baseball's "Negro Leagues" will be shown. For registration and information contact Alvin L. Hall, Dean of the Graduate School of interdisciplnary Arts and Sciences, The Union Institute, 440 E. McMillan Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. 45206, or call (513) 861-6400, or e-mail "ahall@tui.edu."

Cooperstown, NY: June 11-13, 1997

THE LETTER OF THE LAW

The University of Southern California presents "The Letter of the Law: Law, Literature, and Culture." This conference will investigate the intersection, contestation, contradictions, and collusions of letters and laws. Letters and laws have opposing connotations: the letter is seen as disseminated, involved in freeplay, while the law, eve within the academy, is commonly construed as a limiting, regulative force. The purpose of this conference is to explore and explode the ways these two fields inform one another, looking at the law of the letter as well as the letter of the law. What narratives are used to connect law and literature, and what are the connections beyound narrativity? What are the ways in which law informs popular culture and literature? Carl Gutierrez-Jones, Associate Professor of English at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of *Rethinking the Borderlands: Between Chicano Culture and Legal Discourse*, will be the keynote speaker at this conference. For more information, e-mail "karno@scf-fs.usc.edu".

Los Angeles, CA: February 28-March 1, 1996

FOR MORE INFORMATION OR TO ADVERTISE YOUR CONFERENCE ON THIS PAGE, CALL (212) 302-0336 ext. 284.

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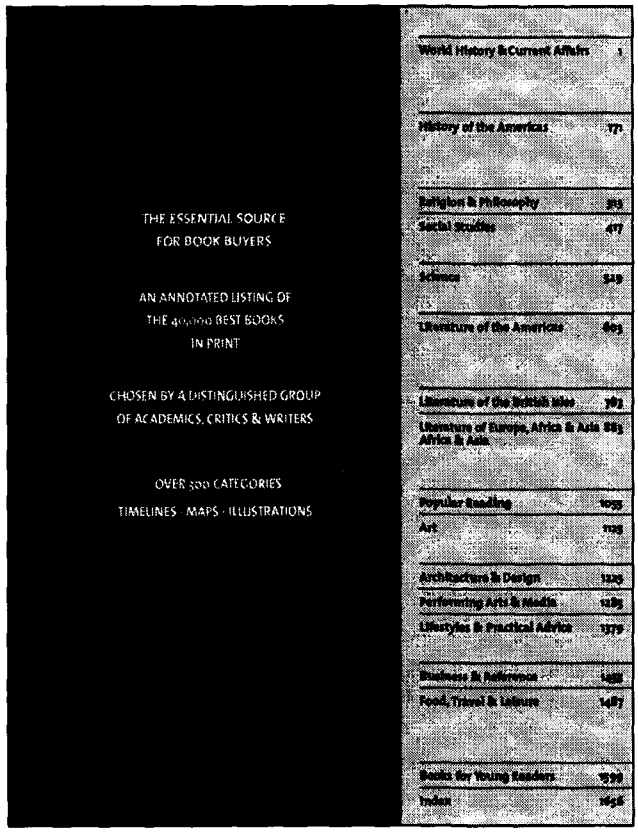

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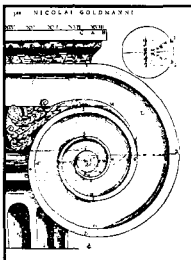

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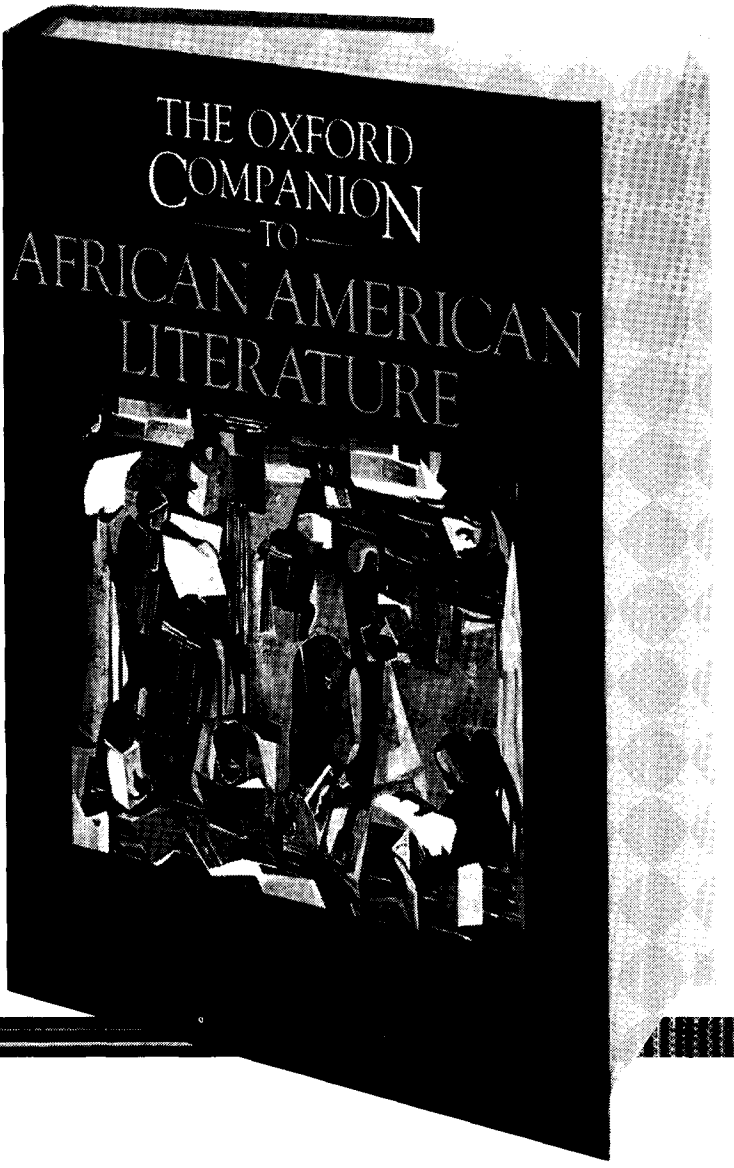

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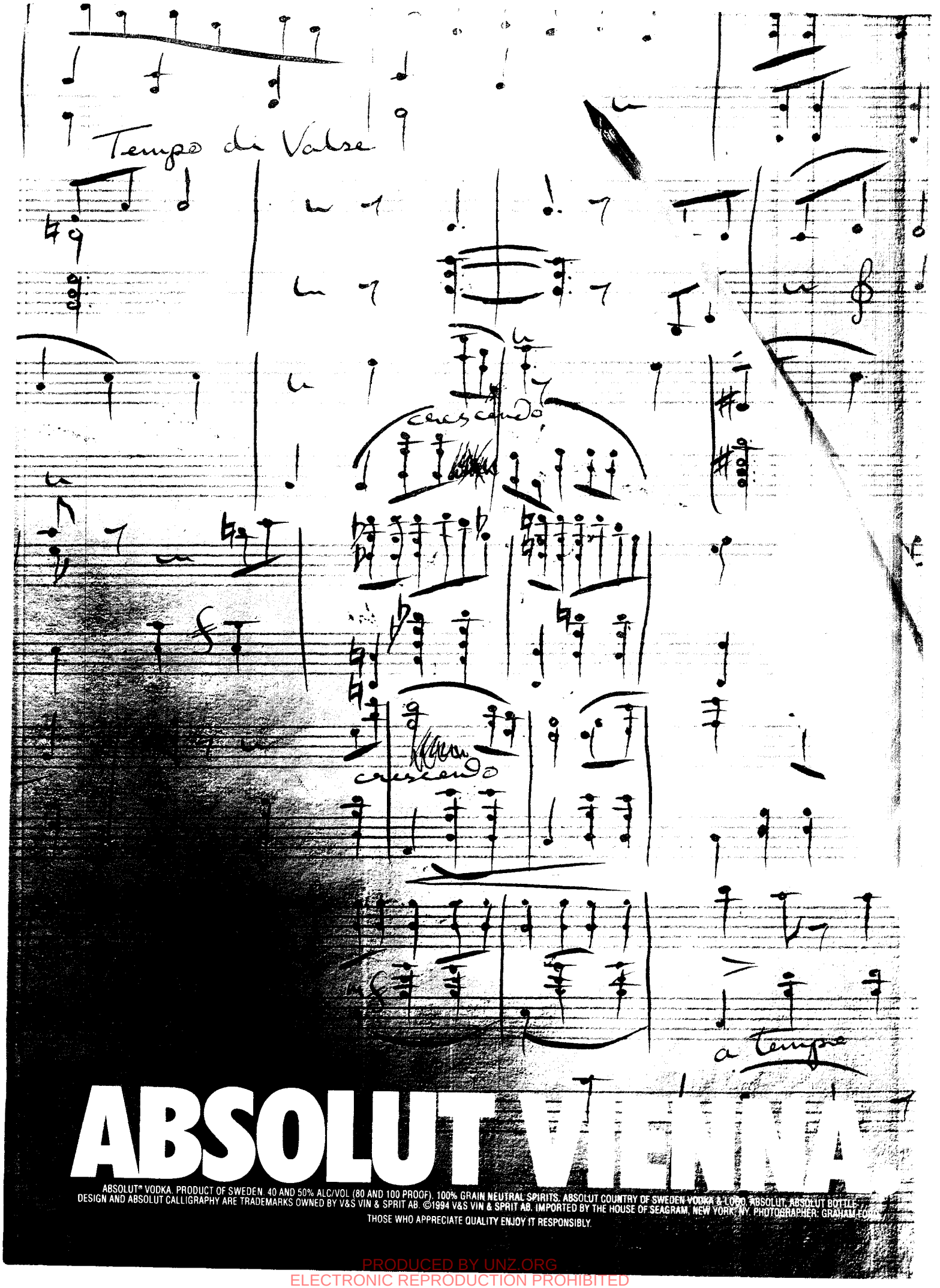

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